

Cabinet reviews Lebanese impasse Israel suspects Syrians intend digging in heels

By ASHER WALLFISH and
DAVID LANDAU

Recent tough language emanating from Syria and the Soviet Union is meant to warn the U.S. and Lebanon that any agreement advantageous to Israel may make Syria less cooperative about withdrawal from Lebanon.

Amid reports of a new Israeli exhibit in key aspects of the Israel-Lebanese negotiations, this pessimistic opinion was voiced by well-placed sources in Jerusalem yesterday's weekly cabinet session.

The sources noted that while the U.S. still maintains that Syria is committed to withdraw from Lebanon simultaneously with the IDF's withdrawal, Israel has no idea that basis the U.S. has for this confidence. American envoy Philip Habib's assurances in Jerusalem that the Syrian troops would pull out have not been reinforced by any recent American-Syrian contacts, the sources pointed out.

Assuming that Israel and Lebanon reach agreement in their bilateral negotiations, the sources said, their labour might be in vain if Syria balks at the last minute. Although it is common knowledge that the gap between Israel and Lebanon has been narrowed only with regard to broad principles and language, the awareness that

some progress has been achieved is apparently prompting Damascus and Moscow to talk aggressively. The Jerusalem Post was told.

The possibility of an American diplomatic success in getting Lebanon and Israel to agree inevitably arouses the jealousy of the Soviet Union, the sources said.

Meanwhile cabinet sources said that when Habib returns later this week he will have to have something better than what he brought to Jerusalem last week, if the two thorny issues still outstanding are to be overcome.

Jerusalem was disappointed with the proposals Habib brought from Lebanon — regarding free movement of people and goods across the border, and security in Southern Lebanon — which bore de facto American sponsorship. Last Friday, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir told Habib that he was dissatisfied with these proposals.

Shamir told the cabinet yesterday that an agreement on the movement of people and goods could not be left until six months after the final withdrawal, as the American-Lebanese proposal suggested. There was no reason to suppose that Beirut would be more willing to sign an agreement on open borders after an IDF evacuation than it would today, the minister said.

Shamir said he told Habib on Friday (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)



Rescue workers recover the bodies of two young brothers, Majed and Majdi Hassan, who were killed early yesterday when heavy rain sent a boulder smashing through the bedroom wall of their home in the Ras al-Amud neighbourhood of East Jerusalem. Story page 3. (Mahamir Israeli)

Hurdles in way of nomination

Begin endorses Burg in presidential race

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

With only four days to go for nominating candidates to succeed President Yitzhak Navon, it is still not certain that the National Religious Party's Yosef Burg will be a candidate. Prime Minister Menachem Begin officially proposed the interior minister yesterday as his choice for the presidency.

Burg is maintaining strict silence. His candidacy is still highly problematic and sources close to him told The Jerusalem Post yesterday that "things are very fluid now and can go either way."

Burg has not secured Alignment support, and within the coalition he is strenuously opposed by the three-member Tami list. Moreover, there is opposition within his own party and among his closest followers, lest the fragile balance in the NRP be totally upset and the party thrown into turmoil.

The matter will have to be resolved quickly because the names of candidates must be officially entered by Thursday. By that date, the candidates must officially accept the nomination which must be made by at least 10 sponsoring Knesset members. The Knesset will elect the new president on April 22 and the winner must have the support of at least 61 MKs.

Ballotting is secret, which heightens uncertainty within the

coalition about whether Burg will be able to muster majority support. Burg has in the past made his acceptance of the nomination conditional on broad support from both sides of the House. However, Labour is still backing the candidacy of MK Chaim Herzog, in the belief that he could squeeze through with Tami support and the vote of one Liberal, whose identity Labour is not disclosing. Labour also believes Herzog would be supported by Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat.

Ben-Porat yesterday opposed the Burg nomination at the coalition executive session in which Begin made his proposal. His reasoning was not clear and coalition sources believe he could be persuaded to change his mind.

But Tami presents a tougher problem. Party sources told The Post last night that under no circumstances would it support Burg and that it had decided to back him. There has been deep-seated hostility between Tami MKs and Burg since the trial of Tami leader Aharon Abuhatzira, whom Tami accused Burg of hounding. Tami sources indicated they would support almost any other candidate.

It is believed in the NRP that Labour will not continue to insist on its own candidate if he cannot win. "They have to understand that this time they are not just spitting the Likud, but are openly opposing the

Kohl sweeps to victory, expects clear majority

BONN (AP). — Chancellor Helmut Kohl swept to victory yesterday in the West German national elections and some computer projections showed his Christian Democrats capturing an absolute majority in parliament for the first time since 1957.

Peter Glotz, general secretary of challenger Hans-Jochen Vogel's Social Democrats, conceded defeat less than an hour after the polls closed. It was the worst showing for the party of Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt in nearly 20 years.

Final results were not immediately available. But the ARD television network said its computer projections showed the Christian Democrats and their Bavarian allies, the Christian Social Union, with more than 50 per cent of the vote in contests for the Bundestag.

Heiner Geissler, secretary general of the CDU, said the results showed that the majority of the West German people "stands for NATO."

Crushed by jubilant supporters at CDU headquarters chanting "Helmut Helmut," Kohl claimed victory and said the voters had given him a mandate to continue "a policy of the centre."

Vogel conceded defeat shortly afterwards.

The margin of victory, after a hard-fought campaign dominated by unemployment and nuclear missiles, was greater than most opinion polls had forecast.

CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian state premier, declined to say in a television interview whether he would press for the post of foreign minister in the new government.

But his supporters laughed and cheered when he said: "I'm flying to Bonn tomorrow."

An absolute Kohl victory would almost certainly mean Genscher being replaced as foreign minister and vice-chancellor by Strauss.

The Green Party, under an environmentalist and anti-nuclear banner, appeared to have garnered just over the five per cent of the votes necessary to earn them for the first time seats in the Bundestag.

The projections gave Genscher's Free Democrats, Kohl's current coalition partners, about 6.5 per cent of the vote, leaving the Social Democrats with some 38 per cent of the vote. But it was unclear whether Kohl could set up a government alone or whether he would need, as before, the Free Democrats' Bundestag votes.

ARD's projection showed Kohl's party with 50.4 per cent.

Kohl's victory seemed to assure that NATO would be able to go ahead with plans to station cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe unless an arms agreement with Moscow is reached this year.

The conservative chancellor strongly supports the missiles as a deterrent to Soviet military strength. Vogel, however, had promised to do everything possible to make the U.S. weapons "superfluous."

Before the election, Vogel also said he would accept Green support, but stopped short of saying he would take the environmentalists into the government.

U.S. officials warned privately that a Vogel victory could strain relations between West Germany and the U.S. The Soviet Union urged West Germans to renounce the missiles by voting against Kohl's coalition.

Government spokesman Dieter Stolte accused the Soviets of meddling in West German internal affairs and of trying to influence the outcome of the election.

In the final weeks of the campaign, the missile issue was overshadowed by the economy. The Federal Labour Office reported that unemployment had soared in January to a post World War II record of 2.5 million, or 10.4 per cent of the work force.



Chancellor Helmut Kohl is all smiles as he casts his ballot yesterday in his home town of Ludwigshafen. At left is his wife, Hannelore. (UPI telephoto)

Gains leadership by persistence

BONN (AP). — Once thought of as a political has-been, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl got to the top of German politics through persistence.

Kohl has fought his way back from the political wilderness, despite a reputation as a dull but dependable provincial party official.

Defeated in a race for chancellor in 1976 and passed over as his party's candidate four years later, Kohl became chancellor last October when the minority Free Democrats switched sides in parliament.

But it was yesterday's national election that gave the chancellor a stamp of approval from the public, and settled doubts about his leadership.

"My biggest asset is that people would buy a used car from me without hesitating," he has been quoted as saying.

Kohl is expected to pursue a business-oriented economic programme that will emphasize tax breaks to boost private investment.

He is a strong supporter of the plan to base NATO medium-range missiles in Europe, and says the Soviet Union has not shown enough flexibility in arms talks with the West.

Israel demands PoW visits before negotiating exchange

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel will not discuss an exchange of prisoners with the Palestine Liberation Organization until the International Red-Cross sits two soldiers held by the armed Jibril group and until information is supplied about the five missing men, military sources said here last night.

The two soldiers are held by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command. They were captured in Lebanon along with six other soldiers but were separated from the others. The six have been visited and interviewed on TV, but nothing is heard of the two.

Nor has Israel received official word about five soldiers captured by the Syrians. Accordingly, in contacts with the PLO via the Austrian government, Israel has demanded Red Cross visits to the two held by a PFLP faction, and information about the other five.

PLO statements that the prisoners could be exchanged within 24 hours, that Israel was preventing an agreement and that the prisoner's mothers could visit their sons were described by Israeli military sources as "psychological warfare." Israel tried twice to act on the invitation to the mothers and both times Red Cross officials "did not know what we were talking about," the sources said.

The PLO has demanded the release of the prisoners held by Israel at Ansar in Southern Lebanon as well as 1,000 held elsewhere. However the military sources stated that "there will be no talks about anything till the visits are arranged and the information is divulged."

Commenting on the reports that the negotiations had broken down, the sources said: "There were no negotiations; so there is nothing that can break down." The soldiers' families had appealed to the Austrian government and there were "contacts with the PLO."

Each supporter 'confesses' to shootings near Hebron

Jerusalem Post Staff

One of the three supporters of Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach movement being held by police in connection with last week's shootings at Yatta in the Hebron vicinity has reportedly confessed his involvement. A four-year-old girl is wounded in one of the incidents.

The suspect, an American, was arrested last Thursday at Ben-Gurion Airport as he tried to leave the country. He had been involved in an extensive police search of the ryat Arba yeshiva and the Kach element of Al-Nakam.

The Jerusalem magistrates court yesterday ordered his remand for 15 days and banned publication of his name.

The two other suspects in custody are also Americans: Arnold Feins and Michael Gozovsky. They are arrested early last week and

remanded for a week. Police have refused to comment on persistent reports that the investigation into the shootings is related to the grenade attack on a Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem last month in which one man was killed.

Meanwhile, Kahane has been banned from appearing in schools to lecture to pupils, Israel Radio reported yesterday.

The radio said that Education Ministry Director-General Eliezer Shmueli approved the ban because "Kahane advocates violence against certain segments of society and against those whose opinions do not match his own."

A spokesman for Kach, Barbara Ginzberg, called the decision a "blow to freedom of speech" and said that if Kahane were banned, left-wing groups should also be banned from speaking in schools.

Detectives wait in ambush, but drug buyers don't show

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

L AVIV. — A large force of detectives waited at Tel Aviv's plomat Hotel last night to ambush the buyers of a large haul of hashish smuggled into the country over the weekend.

But the expected buyers still had not shown up by late last night. On Saturday afternoon police came suspicious about a Mercedes car with Lebanese licence plates parked outside the hotel. A police sapper checked the car and reported it was not carrying explosives. Detectives ascertained that two Lebanese citizens staying at the hotel owned the car.

After checking the car with the Lebanese, detectives Eliezer and Sammy Sapir discovered

a false floor under the back seat. Several packages of hashish, each weighing 600 grams, were hidden under the floor. More hashish was found in the door frames, making a total of 42 kilos at an estimated street value of \$1.2 million.

The car owners, aged 24 and 23, said they were electrical merchants who had come to visit Israel, arriving on Friday afternoon. They are residents of Baabda, near Beirut.

Police found a map of the route from Rosh Hanihira to the Diplomat Hotel among their possessions. They believe the two had planned to sell the drugs to clients who were supposed to contact them at the hotel.

The two Lebanese are to appear today in the magistrates court for remand. (Picture: P-3)

Treasury and doctors hold informal talks

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Representatives of the Treasury and the Israel Medical Association held informal talks yesterday in Jerusalem in an effort to reach a compromise that would allow both sides to return to official wage negotiations.

"It's still too early to report any concrete results," Hillel Dudai, head of the Treasury's wage division, told The Jerusalem Post last night. He declined to give any further details, apart from saying that the informal talks will continue today at an undisclosed location.

Participants at yesterday's meeting included Treasury Director-General Ezra Sadan, Dudai and three or four representatives of the IMA. The Post has learned. None of the employers — Kupat Holim sick fund, the Health Ministry or Hadassah — was represented at the meeting. This was in contrast to the large number of participants in the previous rounds of talks, during which up to 20 doctors were present.

The meeting was described as "unofficial," to circumvent the government's declared ban on conducting negotiations with striking groups.

The doctors renewed their sanctions — the collection of a \$600 fee from each patient at emergency rooms and hospital outpatient clinics — after the last round of negotiations broke down at 2 a.m. yesterday.

As a goodwill gesture, the doctors decided to postpone the extension of the sanctions to Kupat Holim clinics, which was scheduled to begin yesterday morning. "Neighbourhood health clinics will operate as usual until further notice," said Dr. Ram Ishai, chairman of the IMA, at the end of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

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(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

All roads closed in Lebanon Mountains

SAFAD (Reuters). — All roads in the Lebanon Mountains have been closed to traffic after the heavy snowfalls of the past two days. Israeli forces in the area say they will open the roads tomorrow if it stops snowing.

All roads in the Jebel Baruch area are closed, while roads in Aley and Hamdun are only open to heavy vehicles.

(Weather story on page 3)

Arens stays silent on West Bank troubles

Defence Minister Moshe Arens, at yesterday's weekly cabinet session, declined to answer questions about two sensitive aspects of the disturbances in Judea and Samaria, apparently for fear that his answers would be leaked to the media.

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer got no answer when he asked about security for settlers travelling in the West Bank, and Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i got no answer when he asked whether there was a danger that the settlers are taking the law into their own hands to deter rioters and assailants.

Bus fire-bombed in West Bank

Jerusalem Post Reporter
A petrol bomb was hurled through the windshield of an Egged bus travelling between Hadera and the Dothan Valley in the northern West Bank late yesterday, military sources reported.

The bomb exploded inside the bus but was immediately extinguished. No injuries or damage were reported.

Isolated stone-throwing incidents were reported from parts of the West Bank yesterday but none led to any serious confrontations with security forces.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

6.3.83	MIN	MAX	C	F	Cloud
AMSTERDAM	5	11	10	50	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	3	8	7	45	Clear
BUEENOS AIRES	20	28	24	75	Clear
CHICAGO	13	24	18	65	Clear
COPENHAGEN	2	8	5	41	Clear
FRANKFURT	1	6	3	37	Clear
GENEVA	5	10	7	45	Clear
HELSINKI	3	7	5	41	Clear
HONG KONG	10	17	13	55	Clear
JOHANNESBURG	18	24	21	70	Clear
LONDON	7	13	10	50	Cloudy
MADRID	4	9	6	43	Clear
MONTREAL	2	8	5	41	Cloudy
NEW YORK	4	9	6	43	Cloudy
OSLO	5	10	7	45	Clear
PARIS	6	12	9	48	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	28	30	29	84	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	27	31	29	84	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	1	6	3	37	Clear
TOKYO	2	8	5	41	Clear
TORONTO	2	8	5	41	Clear
VIENNA	1	6	3	37	Clear
ZURICH	3	7	5	41	Clear

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Cloudy and cold with local showers.

Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem 90	0-3	5
Golan 47	1-6	7
Nahariya 47	7-13	7
Safed 68	1-4	5
Haifa Port 56	7-11	15
Tiberias 55	5-14	15
Nazareth 64	3-7	9
Afula 55	0-13	14
Shomron 88	0-5	7
Tel Aviv 52	6-12	14
B-G Airport 60	5-11	13
Jericho 69	6-12	15
Giva 78	7-12	15
Be'er Sheva 72	6-9	13
Titel 30	9-14	16

Haifa police chief dies

HAIFA (Itim). — Senior police officers, municipal officials and representatives of the courts attended the funeral at Kfar Samir yesterday of Haifa police chief Deputy Commander (Tat-Nitzav) Haim Frankel.

Frankel, 67, died early yesterday after suffering a heart attack.

Hapoel Ramat Gan makes semi-finals

Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hapoel Ramat Gan last night became the first club to advance to the semi-finals of the national basketball playoffs, with a 127-107 trouncing of Hapoel Upper Galilee at the Yehuda Sports stadium. They also won the previous game at Kfar Glati.

Ramat Gan's shooting was led by Cliff Pondexter, who scored 32 points and collected 13 rebounds. Or Goren followed with 28 points.

Brad Lief of Upper Galilee took the overall scoring honours with 37 points.

The other three playoff games will be played tonight.

870 terror suspects last year in Samaria

NABLUS (Itim). — The security forces in Samaria last year investigated 870 persons on suspicion of belonging to terrorist organizations or of taking part in acts of terrorism. The number of those tried has not been released.

The forces also investigated 520 Samaritans suspected of disturbing the peace, including throwing stones and taking part in illegal demonstrations.

Druse leader seeks release of 4 youths

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — Sheikh Amin Tarif, spiritual leader of Israel's Druse, has appealed to Defence Minister Moshe Arens to release four young Druse from the village of Beisr in Lebanon who have been interned at the Ansar prison camp.

Tarif said that Druse notables in Lebanon had urged him to make the appeal.

Boy, 8, hurt in crash

Kfar Sava (Itim). — An eight-year-old boy was seriously injured and his parents slightly hurt when their car hit a traffic light here yesterday.

BIRTHDAY — The Smilansky School in Rehovot is celebrating its

ninetieth anniversary with a number of public events, including a fair. The pupils are planning to collect funds to renovate the school's building.

IT IS WRITTEN

"Thou, Israel, art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend."

Whom I have taken from the ends of the earth, and called thee . . . and not cast thee away.

Behold, all they that were incensed against thee shall be ashamed and confounded; they shall be as nothing, and they that strive with thee shall perish."

— The Almighty (Isaiah 41:8,9c & d, 11)

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HOME NEWS

Cabinet to take up expansion of TV

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The cabinet will hold a full discussion in four weeks on adding a second TV channel, with commercials, and licensing cable television. In advance of the debate, the cabinet decided yesterday that Education Minister Zevulun Hammer should draft proposals for the Broadcasting Authority's second channel, while Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori should draft proposals for cable TV.

Deputy Attorney-General Yoram

Bar-Sela reported to the ministers on the recommendations of the committee he headed which studied the issue of cable TV.

In the discussion yesterday, a minority of ministers criticized the idea of cable TV on educational as well as sociological grounds, but the majority was for it.

Zipori said that cable TV already exists in a number of localities for all practical purposes, and cautioned his colleagues against believing that its introduction could be held up for

very long. Interior Minister Yosef Burg said that Israelis would stop reading books if they had two national channels plus cable TV.

Defence Minister Moshe Arens described some of the changes which had come about in the U.S. as a result of cable TV.

Both Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir and Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i advocated cable TV enthusiastically as being good for the economy.

Cities may approve longer shopping hours

By AARON SITNER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's shopping-hours laws may soon be a thing of the past — and Jerusalem will probably be the first to get rid of them.

Dating back to Mandatory times, by-laws adopted by various cities and towns require shops to close for the day at 7 p.m., as well as between 1 p.m. and 3.30 or 4 p.m.

In Jerusalem, the fine for violating the by-law is IS30. More and more shops are disregarding the statute and municipal inspectors rarely hand out summonses. "It's at the bottom of my list of priorities," Avraham Shasliel, Jerusalem chief municipal inspector, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

The Hamashbir Lazarchan and Shekem department stores are open all day, non-stop. The same holds true at the Hyperkol and Hypershuk supermarkets in Givat Shaul. In Kiryat Hayovel, the Supercol market is open non-stop on Thursdays from 7 a.m. till 8 p.m. Super-Pharm, the American-style pharmacy in Neve Granot, is open for business daily from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m.

An aide to Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek told *The Post*: "We are caught in a tug-of-war between the city's small shop operators on one hand and a growing population on the other. We're living in modern times, when people have lots of shopping to do and want to get it done at their convenience, not at the convenience of

the shopkeeper.

"Store owners say they deserve some rest during the day, just as that granted by law to workers throughout the economy, under the Work and Rest Hours Law. That's why they succeeded in getting the shopping hours by-law onto the books. But we at the municipality are under much pressure to change the law. If the pressure increases even more, the town council will have no choice but to scrap the by-law altogether."

The city's pharmacies are leading the merchants' fight for stricter enforcement of the shopping hours by-law. Badly affected by the popularity of non-stop and late shopping hours, the capital's Pharmacists Association recently demanded an end to the emergency pharmacists' rota, claiming Super-Pharm should bear the burden of filling all of the city's night-time drug prescriptions.

In a letter to the chemists, the municipal spokesman warned them against violating the rota, which is maintained according to national law. As for Super-Pharm, he admitted that the by-law was not being enforced — but only because the store "is serving a vital need to a growing community."

Removal of the shopping hours by-law from the books would require approval of the Interior Ministry. If Jerusalem's decision — now being weighed by the town councillors — is to get rid of the by-law, similar action is expected in other local authorities.

Israel and Egypt to hold talks on trade next week

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israel and Egypt are to open trade talks next week in Egypt. On the agenda will be the virtual freeze of trade relations between the two sides since the war in Lebanon.

Israel will be represented by officials of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Foreign Ministry. The talks follow last week's opening round of negotiations on the disputed Taba area, near Eilat. That session, held at Ismailiya, made little progress — but Israeli officials are not despondent. They say the meeting itself is a welcome development.

ment, signalling perhaps the start of a thaw between Cairo and Jerusalem.

The Taba talks focused on the interim regime at the site, with Egypt anxious that the Multinational Force and UN observers be deployed in the area.

Some observers here believe that Egypt has agreed to reopen its dialogue with Israel for fear that the "cold peace," in the phrase of State Minister for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali, might deteriorate and eventually endanger the peace treaty itself.

Soviets criticize U.S. over missiles

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The Communist Party daily *Pravda* said yesterday that the U.S. was making an "incredible fuss" about the siting of the SA-5 Soviet-made air defence missile systems in Syria, and accused Washington of wanting to keep its troops in Lebanon.

The newspaper said U.S. complaints about the new surface-to-air missile batteries reflected a double standard over the requirements of Israel and the Arab countries.

"The former is allowed to have any weapons it wants and there are no obstacles to delivery," it said. "But when it comes to the defence needs of the countries opposed to Israel, victims of its aggression, the U.S. makes an incredible fuss."

BURG

(Continued from Page One)

NRP. If they persist in so doing, they can forget about renewing any sort of political partnership with the NRP for a decade at least," party sources told *The Post*. They expressed the belief that Labour will give in at the last moment.

Burg's rivals in his own party, the faction headed by Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, support his candidacy in the belief that the NRP leadership would then be theirs. For that very reason, Burg's own Lamifne faction is opposed to his running and meetings to dissuade him are expected to be held today. He will be told that he cannot abandon his faction so close to the party's April 26 internal elections.

Burg's departure from NRP politics could have an extremely unsettling effect on the party. The Hammer faction expects that, with Burg out of the picture, Hammer would become party leader, while Lamifne sources say that if Burg insists on becoming president, a joint leadership, including Religious Affairs Minister Director-General Rabbi Moshe Solomon, would replace him. This would mean a battle for the Interior Ministry, and could threaten the entire coalition's stability, because Lamifne sources are already saying they will insist that all Burg's portfolio's go to Solomon, who is not a Knesset member.

If Burg's candidacy does run into serious trouble, Begin will probably have to choose from among several professors mentioned recently — all of whom have been connected with the Revisionist Movement. They are: Prof. Benjamin Akzin, Prof. Yosef Nadava and Prof. Ben-Zion Netanyahu. The latter is the father of Yonatan Netanyahu, who fell in the Entebbe operation. Nadava's cause was somewhat damaged yesterday when Tehiya official proposed him, hurting his chances among the Liberals. Akzin's main problem is that, at age 78, he is the oldest of the candidates. (Burg is 74.) The choice of an alternative candidate to Burg, in all likelihood from one of these three, will be discussed in Begin's office today, *The Post* was told.



Singer Ofra Haza gets a hearty hug from her mother in Jerusalem on Saturday night after winning the competition to represent Israel at the Eurovision Song Contest in Munich next month. (Rahamim Israel).

Mubarak says he won't meet with Arafat in New Delhi

CAIRO. — President Hosni Mubarak left here yesterday for New Delhi to attend the Non-Aligned summit meeting, telling reporters that he would not meet any PLO leaders.

PLO leader Yasser Arafat has repeatedly indicated his interest in meeting Mubarak, but the Egyptian leader firmly ruled this out.

Arafat left Riyadh for New Delhi yesterday after talks with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia on Saturday night. Arafat was quoted by Riyadh radio as saying that a Palestinian working

paper to be submitted to the summit would be based on the Middle East plan endorsed at last September's Arab summit in Morocco.

He also said he had briefed the Saudi leader on the outcome of last month's meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers.

It remained unknown if Mubarak would meet any of the Arab leaders who severed relations with the Cairo government over its peace treaty with Israel. (Reuters, AP) (Related story, page 4)

Moscow said 'impatient' with Arafat

WASHINGTON (JTA). — Syndicated columnist Jack Anderson wrote yesterday that, according to secret military intelligence reports, the Soviet Union has become "impatient with the PLO's inflexibility."

Anderson, however, wrote that "some U.S. analysts cannot name any new rising Palestinian leaders." He maintained that should certain conditions develop — Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and slackening of settlement on the West Bank — and if Jordan's King Hussein would play a stronger role, "new Palestinian leaders will emerge who are not affiliated with the PLO but who will be acceptable to most Palestinians."

East plans.

But State Department analysts, Anderson continued, contend that Arafat needs "something to show his people," should he acknowledge Israel's right to exist.

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Jordan limits imports from Lebanon

AMMAN (Reuters). — Jordan on Saturday became the second Arab country to impose restrictions on imports from Lebanon as a means of keeping out Israeli goods, which have been flowing into Lebanon.

Last month, Saudi Arabia banned a wide range of imports from Lebanon and ordered close scrutiny of others.

The official Jordanian news agency Petra said all goods imported from Lebanon were banned, unless made in Lebanon itself.

It said Trade and Industry Minister Walid Asfour took the decision in order to prevent the entry of Israeli goods that might have reached Lebanese markets, and goods made by firms blacklisted by the Arab League Boycott Office for dealing with Israel.

Since Israel invaded the southern third of Lebanon last June, the Beirut government has been unable to prevent Israeli goods flowing in across the border.

Some Beirut press reports say that in December alone their value totalled \$30 to \$20 million.

Lebanon, which depends heavily on trade — including the re-export of goods to the Arab world — for its prosperity, has been trying to get the Saudi ban relaxed, and has also tried to close down illegal ports run by private militias.

As part of talks on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon, Israel is seeking normal trade relations with Lebanon. But the Lebanese are resisting for fear of Arab reprisals.

Electric workers to strike next week

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Electric Corporation's 7,000 employees will stage a 24-hour warning strike next Sunday to protest delays in government approval of a sabbatical study fund for the corporation's administrative staff.

The works committee wants to

establish a private company to manage the fund, which the employees began contributing to five years ago. It says the Energy Ministry is dragging its feet in seeking government approval for the project.

The committee declared a formal labour dispute on February 20 and yesterday decided on the strike.

A corporation spokeswoman said last night that power stations and main offices would be reduced to Saturday work levels if the strike is held.

Grunzweig memorial

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The municipal council yesterday dedicated a minute's silence to the memory of Emil Grunzweig, who was murdered last month during a Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem. Mayor Shlomo Lahat then spoke briefly about Grunzweig.

The previous council meeting, held a few days after Grunzweig's murder, did not mark his death because Lahat was sick and acting mayor Yigal Griffl said he was not asked by any council member to do anything in memory of Grunzweig.

Thieves beaten by safe

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Thieves failed in an attempt to break open a safe at the Hamashbir Lazarchan department store in Allenby Street during the weekend. They entered the store by breaking through a wall into the store's toilets.

The thieves stole two video tape machines but failed to break into the safe.

Vandalism suspect held

HAIFA. — A 16-year-old youth, suspected of smashing the windows of nearly 50 cars and several shops in the Tirat Carmel area during the past two months was arrested on Saturday night. He will undergo psychiatric tests.

PARKING. — A scheme to limit

parking to drivers who buy tickets from the municipality is to be introduced in Nahariya.

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Concert No. 7 that was scheduled for today

has been cancelled

The date of the concert will be announced.

We announce with deep sorrow the passing of our beloved husband, father and grandfather

BERNARD H. KRUMBEIN

The funeral will take place today, Monday,

March 7, 1983 at 4.00 p.m., at Beit HaHalvayot

"Shamgar," Romema, Jerusalem.

Wife: Anna R. Krumbein

Daughter and Son-in-law: Ivriah and Chaim Levine

Son and Daughter-in-law: Jacob and Mina Krumbein

Grandchildren and great-grandchildren

ברוך ויין אמת
On Erev Shabbat, Ki Tisa,
in London

Naphtali Ferdi Lunzer

passed away in his 96th year.

Deeply mourned by his brothers and sister,

Sidney B. Lunzer, Jerusalem.

Harry Lunzer, Manchester

Ami Ullmann, London

and by all the family in Israel and abroad

On the Shilshim of our beloved

HENRY GOLDBERG

a memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone will take place at the New Cemetery, Ramat Hasharon,

on Wednesday, March 9, 1983 at 3.30 p.m.

We will meet at the cemetery entrance.

The Family

Dov Ben-Meir to run
against Lahat in TA

TEL AVIV. — Local Labour Council secretary and Knesset Member Dov Ben-Meir will be nominated officially this week by the Labour Party's regional council as the party's candidate for mayor of Tel Aviv.

The party's municipal committee chose Ben-Meir as its candidate last Friday. Ben-Meir said that the campaign will be difficult, but he believed he had a fair chance of beating incumbent Shlomo Lahat.

Mks Mordechai Gur, Ora Namir and Eliyahu Speiser, had all turned down offers to run for Labour.

Ben-Meir will now have to decide which of his two posts — local Labour Council Secretary or Knesset Member — he will give up to run for mayor, in accordance with a recent Labour Party ruling.

Deadline today for chief rabbis

Jerusalem Post Staff
TEL AVIV. — The impasse on extending the chief rabbis' term of office continued yesterday, as all parties refused to budge from their declared positions.

If the Chief Rabbinate Election Law is not changed today, the election will go through as scheduled on March 15, without the participation of the two incumbents.

The Alignment Knesset faction again decided to reject a National Religious Party proposal that the terms be extended by six months.

This prompted the Liberal Party to declare that it continues to insist that its members have the freedom of vote on this issue. Thus Prime Minister Menachem Begin is unable to impose coalition discipline and insure the extension which the NRP seeks.

Begin is due to meet a delegation of the Chief Rabbinate Council at noon today. The rabbis will appeal

to him that either the two rabbis' terms be extended or that the law be amended to make it possible for them to run for another five-year term. But it is not clear what Begin can promise them at this stage.

Liberal faction chairwoman Sarah Doron said again yesterday that the Liberal MKs would oppose any extension unless followed by an undertaking to amend the law to allow for only one chief rabbi. Agudat Yisrael MKs are likely to oppose any move to extend the terms of office, as well.

The Alignment Knesset faction yesterday failed to get the government off the hook when it voted to reject any extension. Moreover, the faction adopted by a vote of 11 to 5 the proposal of MK Michael Bar-Zohar not to deliberate again on amendments to the rabbinical law.

The Chief Rabbinate Council met in Jerusalem yesterday and failed to impose a threatened ban

on anyone participating in the election.

But there is one possible play still available to those wishing to delay the elections: a recourse to the courts over the fact that the election board has one extra Ashkenazi member.

A spokesman for the Religious Affairs Ministry told *The Jerusalem Post* that the extra member is MK Menachem Hacohen of the Alignment. Because most of the mayors and other ex-officio members of the electing body are Ashkenazim, Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg had asked the Knesset to make all of its five participating electors Sephardim. The Knesset provided four Sephardim and Rabbi Hacohen.

The spokesman said that it is impossible to change the list of electors now, because their names must be published 20 days before the election.

2 boys die
in rockslide
in Jerusalem

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A boulder loosened by heavy rains crashed through the wall of a house in the Ras al-Amud neighbourhood of East Jerusalem early yesterday and killed two brothers in their beds.

The incident occurred shortly after midnight at the home of Salim Hassan, a municipality employee. Killed were Majdi, 11, and Majed, 7. Five sisters who were sleeping on mattresses on the floor elsewhere in the room escaped injury.

Frantic attempts to dig out the brothers from the debris were made by police, municipal workers and Magen David Adom personnel, who arrived at the scene minutes after the disaster.

The intensive rains which have inundated Jerusalem this winter have caused extensive damage, particularly in East Jerusalem, where old Turkish drainage channels have given way. A 12-metre-deep hole was opened in the main road in Silwan over the weekend by the collapse of such a channel underneath the roadway.

Municipal spokesman Rafi Davara said rain damage will amount to "tens of hundreds of millions of shekels." He said the municipality will seek government financial assistance.

Municipal emergency teams have been working virtually around the clock since Friday. More than 70 cases of residential flooding were reported over the weekend.

Drainage channels were blocked by branches and other debris and special teams worked through the night to unclog them. High winds knocked down traffic lights, and at least 24 large trees, and sent roof tiles flying. Stone fences around the city gave way under the weight of rain-drenched soil. Skidding cars caused damage to several electricity poles and bus-stop shelters.

The road skirting the Jewish Quarter inside the Old City was closed to traffic yesterday after it sagged alongside Batei Mahse. Municipal engineers are to examine the road today to determine what repairs are necessary.

The roof of the Perfume Market in the Old City market showed cracks yesterday. Municipal engineers also found serious cracks in the stone fence outside the old Sha'are Zedek Hospital on Jaffa Road.

Railways must pay
IS2.7m. to factory
destroyed by fire

HAIFA (Iim). — Israel Railways has been ordered to pay IS2.7 million to a Kfar Syrkin paper factory which was destroyed by a fire which started on a railway line.

The Haifa district court found that in November 1979, workers repairing a section of railway line with a welding machine caused a fire which, as a result of strong winds, spread to the adjacent Har Gur paper and carton factory, destroying much of the plant and equipment.

The railways' legal representative maintained that the factory was to blame because it had not built a fire-break on its perimeter and did not have adequate fire-fighting equipment.

However, Judge Yosef Margalit dismissed this allegation and ordered the railways to pay the company IS2.7m. damages, plus the costs of the litigation.

TV decides PLO men
are not 'personalities'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

PLO officials will no longer be called "personalities" on Israel radio and TV because the word has "positive connotations" according to the Broadcasting Authority.

The spokesman said that the word "ishim" would not be used to refer to officials of the terrorist organization. The word, she said, "is reserved for respectable persons, not for the leaders of international terrorism." She added that the ban followed protests by viewers and listeners. PLO officials would, however, be identified by their official titles.

Fifty workers fired
as shoe maker
closes down factory

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The 20-year-old Berma Shoe Company is closing down its factory here and the owners are marketing imported Italian shoes instead. The factory's 50 employees have received dismissal notices for the end of the month.

The firm says it can no longer compete with imported Italian shoes and prefers selling them.

General manager Moshe Berkovitz told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the company hopes to reopen the factory later with modern machinery, to make shoes for export to South Africa. They might then re-engage a small number of the workers.

The Haifa Labour Council says it will fight the dismissals. It criticized government policy which was encouraging imports at the expense of local industry.

Pollution charge
by HU students

Jerusalem Post Staff

Hebrew University students are complaining that the chimney of the Mount Scopus campus's heating centre is polluting the campus air.

The chimney, above the Goldsmith Building in the centre of Mount Scopus, emits black and white fumes alternately. According to the students' complaint to the Council for the Prevention of Noise and Pollution, the smoke causes blurred vision and stains laundry hanging out to dry.

Complaints on the matter to the university authorities have led to a meeting, say the 110 students who signed the complaint.

The council has approached the Health Ministry to investigate the complaint.

IDF land reclaimed
after Beduin reject deal

BEERSHEBA (Iim). — Fifteen hundred dunams of Negev land, which had been designated for military exercises, has been returned to the IDF after Beduin, encouraged by the wet weather, planted it with wheat and barley.

A spokeswoman for the Israel Lands Administration said that an attempt had been made to come to an agreement with the Beduin, under which they would be able to keep part of the planted land on a seasonal basis, but they had refused to accept the idea.

As a result, the administration had gone ahead with an operation to reclaim the land, which is near Beersheba and Arad.

Zipori calls for aliya

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori last week called on pupils at the Tachemoni School in Antwerp to study at Israeli universities and to immigrate to Israel.

Zipori returned on Friday after a 36-hour lecture tour on behalf of Keren Hayesod, in which he promoted aliya and answered questions about Israel. Asked about Lebanon, Zipori said that Israel should not withdraw from Lebanon until it is assured of security arrangements for its northern border.



Police officers examine a haul of hashish, worth about IS1.2m., found hidden under the back seat of a Lebanese-registered car in Tel Aviv yesterday.

TA inspectors may get more authority

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A special team will be appointed by the police and the Tel Aviv municipality to examine the need to expand the authority of city inspectors, police Inspector-General Rav-Nitzan Arie Ivztan said yesterday. Ivztan yesterday toured the city with Mayor Shlomo Lahat after meeting on the city's crime and law enforcement problems.

"A special department to enforce city by-laws, for which the police will have professional responsibility, and the city will have administrative responsibility, must be formed, at least in the three big cities," Lahat said.

Lahat discussed the expansion of city inspectors' authority in enforcing city by-laws. But Ivztan refused to allow city inspectors to arrest offenders or to use force, police sources said.

Ivztan promised to strengthen Tel Aviv's police force and to increase police presence in the city's southern quarters.

Lahat and Ivztan also agreed to "create a new police station in Jaffa, near the Bloomfield Stadium, and other stations in the southern quarters."

Lahat suggested that the authority to write traffic tickets for illegally parked cars be transferred from the city to the police. Ivztan did not reply to this proposal.

100,000 to obtain 'Tel Aviv card'

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — About 100,000 Tel Aviv and Jaffa residents from age 10 are expected to obtain the city's identity card this year and receive discounts in a variety of municipal services.

Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat decided three years ago to issue resident cards to Tel Avivians.

Anyone with a resident's card will be able to enter the Country Club Beach, the Yarkon Park, the tropical garden and the picnic parking lot free, receive a 20 per cent

discount at the popular university, a 1500 discount at the municipal library, and reductions at the Cinematheque, the Jaffa tennis centre, the music and dance library, the Sportec, the municipal swimming pools, museums and other places.

The price of a card is IS50, and residents must present a photograph and their identity card when applying for one. The cards may be obtained at the City Hall entrance, at high schools or at the information bureau on the corner of Dizengoff and Frishman streets.

Prosecution uncertain in Egged dismissal case

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Haifa district attorney has not decided whether there is a case against the Egged management over the alleged dismissal of disabled soldier, Ehud Ofir. *The Jerusalem Post* was told yesterday.

There are a number of legal questions involved which have to be resolved first, it was reported.

Egged contends that when Ofir applied to become a member of the bus co-operative, more than 18

months ago, he voluntarily waived his status as an employed driver, and the law stipulating that disabled soldiers cannot be dismissed applies. He was refused membership but was not sacked, Egged maintains.

Ofir, 30, of Kiryat Ata, who was employed by Egged for five years, says his dismissal was illegal.

GREEK. — The eighth annual conference of the Chair of the History and Culture of Salonika and Greek Jewry was held at Tel Aviv University yesterday. Professor Asher Ovdia of the university's Classical Studies Department lectured on ancient synagogues in Greece.

Interior Ministry Director-General Haim Kubersky praised the idea of cooperation and mutual meetings between Jews and Arabs and promised to finance joint projects. On the Misgav dispute, Kubersky said there is no plan to change the ownership of land belonging to Arab residents or to expropriate one dunam. He explained that the ministry's purpose was to provide proper municipal services to 24 Jewish settlements established in the past seven years.



This poster, designed by Assaf Berg, has been produced by the Government Information Centre to mark next week's Jerusalem Conference on Soviet Jewry. The poster is in black and shades of blue, with the words "Let My People Go" in four languages.

Equality among Mapam kibbutzim sought

By YAA'COV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Representatives of the 76 kibbutzim, making up the Kibbutz Ha'artzi (Mapam) movement yesterday started a two-day debate on ways of achieving greater equality among their kibbutzim.

At the meeting at Kibbutz Mesilot in the Jezreel Valley the delegates investigated ways the richer kibbutzim could help the less successful ones and if this should be mandatory.

Delegates pointed out that there are higher standards of living in the more successful kibbutzim, mainly as a result of their successful industries and financial management.

They discussed whether the financial independence of each kibbutz contravened the idea of equality of all in the movement and how it may be possible to distribute wealth between them.

They also investigated whether all the kibbutzim should be obliged to adhere to a common standard of living and whether each kibbutz should be held responsible for all the others in the movement.

The meeting will conclude today with the adoption of resolutions that will be obligatory for all the movement's kibbutzim, which are represented proportionally according to their number of members.

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Pope's Visit Makes Waves in Central America

Pope John Paul II last week took his message of "peace, concord and hope" to millions of Central Americans. His eight-country tour brought out throngs who cheered as he blessed them from his bulletproof vehicle, a concession to the security risks inherent in a region torn by civil war and economic stress.

If the papal visit unleashed a flood of faith and good will, it also set off powerful political currents. They included a new timetable for presidential elections in El Salvador, an attempt to put a revolutionary gloss on his one-day stop in Nicaragua and a defiant challenge in Guatemala, where Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt's Government executed six guerrillas despite a church plea for mercy.

John Paul, preaching reconciliation in Costa Rica, said he had heard the cry in the region "that calls for peace, for an end to war and violence, death." He had come, he said, to "share the pain." For El Salvador, where he was expected today, he named a new Archbishop, Msgr. Arturo Rivera Damas, whose call for a truce during the papal visit today was accepted, after some hesitation, by guerrilla leaders and Government forces. Since March 1980, when Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero was shot dead while celebrating mass, Monsignor Rivera had been acting as head of the Salvadoran church. Like his predecessor, he has been outspoken in calling for a negotiated end to the war. Portraits of the assassinated archbishop were displayed by Salvadoran exiles at a papal mass attended by 200,000 Costa Ricans. The Pope was expected to pay a quiet visit to Archbishop Romero's tomb today.

John Paul gave strong support to another Archbishop who has been at odds with national authorities, Miguel Obando y Bravo of Nicaragua. The co-ordinator of the Sandinista junta, Daniel Ortega Saverio, assured the Pope that "one can be both a believer and a revolutionary." But later, as some of the Pope's nearly 500,000 listeners at an outdoor mass

was at hand, Friday's employment figures demonstrated one reason why. True, the February level for civilian employment showed no increase over January's 10.4 percent, and improvement in the jobless rate generally lags behind a rebound. But the labor force report held little cheer for the 11.5 million Americans on the official lists of the unemployed. The drop to 19.7 percent from 20.8 percent in black unemployment, for instance, merely reflected the fact that large numbers of black males had stopped looking for work, and so were not included in the compilation. And the average factory work week declined to close to 34 hours last month. "If more people come into the labor force than there are (new) jobs, unemployment will rise," Janet L. Norwood, commissioner of labor statistics, said. "It's typical."

So was the political reaction. The White House said the jobless report proved that "the Administration has laid a solid foundation for permanent reduction in unemployment." Democrats from national committee leaders to mayors called the jobless report confirmation that recovery was selective and urged speedy Senate action on the \$4.9 billion job creation bill that passed the House last week after ritual arguments about pork-barreling, protestations that not enough was being done and admonitions that that more might provoke a Presidential veto. The measure, only half a billion dollars bigger than the White House proposed, would create 300,000 to 600,000 temporary public service and public works posts. (Talking back on defense spending; the White House scrambles to stay ahead, page 4.)

Mrs. Burford's Intimations

Anne McGill Burford's tether to the Environmental Protection Agency stretched almost to the breaking point last week. The House Republican leader and the chairman of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, among others, called for the President to replace her. Mr. Reagan again expressed "full confidence" in his E.P.A. administrator, but Mrs. Burford told aides she expected to be "fed to the wolves" if the crisis continued.

It certainly showed no sign of going away. John D. Dingell, chairman of the House Energy and Commerce investigations subcommittee, said his panel possessed "specific information of criminal conduct and other wrongdoing" at the E.P.A. He said agency employees had testified in closed session that high E.P.A. officials had blocked a Federal grant to clean up California's Stringfellow Acid Pits in order to weaken former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s chances in a Senate election last fall.

In response to these charges, the President told the Justice Department to "meet promptly" with Mr. Dingell. From California, Mr. Reagan issued a directive to expedite Administration investigations of charges against agency officials—a move intended by White House officials to portray him in a take-charge attitude. But Rep. James H. Scheuer, Democrat of Queens, said that "cosmetic offers are no substitute for full, unrestricted access" to E.P.A. documents subpoenaed by Congress.

Mrs. Burford let it be known through aides that she believed the President got poor guidance from his staff when he decided not to grant Congress unconditional access to the papers. As for guidance from the Justice Department regarding her contempt of Congress citation, she was informed by Deputy Attorney General Edward C. Schmitt that the department would no longer represent her, since it was investigating the agency. According to an E.P.A. official, she felt the White House had thus left her "high and dry" after leading her into a legal bind over executive privilege in the first place.

She also believed, however, that with Justice gone, she could legally open E.P.A. files to Congress and ignore that department's complex arrangement for access. But a Justice Department spokesman said only the White House could change those rules. (A sampler of opinion on the E.P.A. crisis, page 5.)



Pope John Paul II in San José, Costa Rica last week.

shouted and waved banners linking Christianity and the revolution, John Paul attacked the leftist "People's Church" as "absurd and dangerous" to Catholic unity. At times having to call for silence, he said priests who occupy positions in the Nicaraguan Government were "acting outside or against the will of the bishops."

The bishops accused the Government of limiting his service to reduce the turnout. The Pope extended a special greeting "to the thousands and thousands of Nicaraguans who have not been able, as they wished, to go to the meeting places." A Vatican statement said the Nicaraguans had asked for the Pope's "good offices" to head off what they thought was impending American military intervention in El Salvador. John Paul indicated he would not step in, saying that only political solutions could end war. In Panama yesterday, things warmed up, with authorities encouraging a big turnout for a "Joyous Fiesta of the Faith" and the Government newspaper, Critica, telling the Pope "we are the children of the Holy Mother Church."

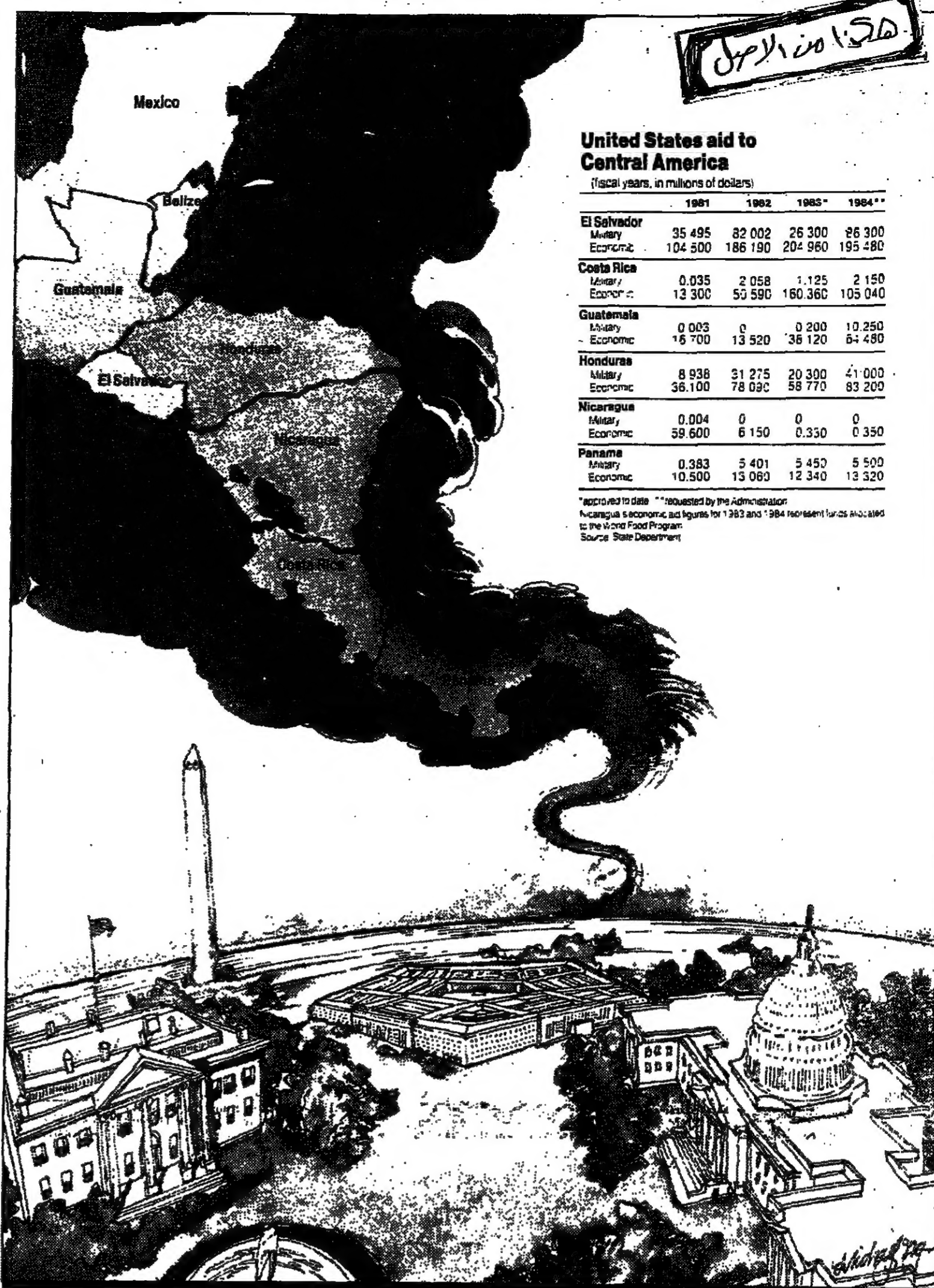
Recovery Now, But How Strong?

"We are making a lot of January," said Martin S. Feldstein said. Indeed, after a midweek report that the index of leading indicators leaped 3.4 percent in January, higher than it has in more than three decades, economists were celebrating the advent of recovery from four years of back-to-back recessions.

The remarks of President Reagan's chief economic adviser were meant as a caution that the January thaw did not mean bright summer

OPEC's scene and Western scenarios

2



United States aid to Central America

(fiscal years, in millions of dollars)

	1981	1982	1983*	1984**
El Salvador				
Military	35 495	82 002	26 300	86 300
Economic	104 500	186 190	204 960	195 480
Costa Rica				
Military	0 035	2 058	1 125	2 150
Economic	13 300	55 590	160 360	105 040
Guatemala				
Military	0 003	0	0 200	10 250
Economic	16 700	13 520	36 120	64 480
Honduras				
Military	8 938	31 275	20 300	41 000
Economic	36 100	78 090	58 770	83 200
Nicaragua				
Military	0 004	0	0 330	0 350
Economic	59 600	6 150	0	0
Panama				
Military	0 383	5 401	5 450	5 500
Economic	10 500	13 060	12 340	13 320

*Approved to date. **Requested by the Administration. Nicaragua's economic aid figures for 1983 and 1984 represent funds allocated to the World Food Program. Source: State Department.

Salvador 'Crisis' Sharpens The Debate Over Policy

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

WHATEVER their differences going in, Congressional leaders coming out of a White House briefing on El Salvador last week were uniformly grim. "The President made it clear that there is a serious problem in the region, that the national interests of this country are deeply involved in the outcome of that struggle," said the Senate majority leader, Howard H. Baker Jr. And Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, said the crisis extended beyond El Salvador; the guerrillas could threaten all of Central America and Mexico too.

It could be argued, perhaps, that both men were predisposed to such conclusions. But even a frequent Administration critic, Representative Michael D. Barnes, the Maryland Democrat who heads the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, said the situation was "deteriorating very rapidly."

The alarms startled many in Washington—and more than a few in El Salvador, where officials denied things had reached crisis proportions. It was as if a smoky nuisance fire had suddenly been declared out of control. Recent news from El Salvador, although undeniably bad, had not seemed much worse than during most of the last two frustrating years. The Salvadoran military had suffered setbacks, but most analysts thought these were largely psychological.

Perhaps, Congressional aides suggested, Mr. Reagan was turning up the heat to offset any call by Pope John Paul II for reconciliation and an end to fighting during his Salvadoran visit today. The Administration opposes a widely advocated proposal for Government negotiations with the leftist guerrillas. Or maybe Mr. Reagan was simply pulling out all the stops in an effort to get \$60 million in added military aid from Congress, where the Administration has been on the defensive because of El Salvador's uncertain progress on human rights and land reform.

Whatever the weight of these factors, a more basic reason for the uproar in Washington may lie in the way the White House appears to be managing foreign policy. For example, in arguing force-

fully for \$60 million in added military aid, a ranking Pentagon official, Nestor D. Sanchez, said the Salvadoran forces were within 30 days of running out of ammunition. Two days later, Under Secretary of State William Schneider Jr. scored a direct hit on that argument: The 30-day estimate was based on "a hypothetical characterization" such as an invasion by Nicaragua "with a 40,000-man army," which no one considered likely.

Evidence that Central Americans have grown disenchanted with United States policy came in an initiative by Costa Rica, Honduras and El Salvador for an area conference to explore new methods of achieving peace. The United States would be pointedly excluded because it was seen as an obstacle to consensus in the region.

Then there were the conflicting reports over additional American military advisers for the sagging Salvadoran army. Coming first from an anonymous White House official on Air Force One as President Reagan flew to California, the adviser story was alternately knocked down and resuscitated all week.

While Secretary of State George P. Shultz has joined in the campaign for additional military aid, last week's sequence suggested that key players making Salvador policy were Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the chief delegate to the United Nations, and William P. Clark, the national security adviser and an old friend of the President. Mrs. Kirkpatrick brought back an especially gloomy assessment from her recent trip to El Salvador. She and Mr. Clark conducted the briefing that so discouraged Congressional leaders—and promptly provoked Congressional criticism.

Domino Theory Revisited

Discussion of who was running foreign policy, strong suggestions that the Administration might finance military aid from Presidential funds that need no Congressional authorization, and warnings of a domino effect if El Salvador should fall to the leftists gave critics ample openings to invoke memories of Vietnam.

"I wonder how many of us stop to consider that San Salvador is closer to Washington, D.C. than is San Francisco, California," Mr. Sanchez testified last week.

"Like at the time of Vietnam, the Administra-

tion has a credibility gap about as wide as the Grand Canyon," said Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of Brooklyn, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. "Last month they were optimistic, saying the light was practically at the end of the tunnel. This month they're pessimistic, saying the end is at hand unless we take emergency action," he went on. "So what do we have? A hype?"

White House, State Department and Defense officials emphatically denied such accusations. Regardless of the seriousness of the situation in El Salvador, what to do about it seemed no clearer to Capitol Hill than to the White House. "A lot of people on the Hill don't like the Administration's policy, but they don't particularly want to see the guerrillas taking over either," said a Congressional aide. "The problem is how do you find a mechanism that would result in a policy that would resolve the dispute." Despite rhetoric about pressing for "social changes" and political and economic advances—as opposed to military victory—liberals in Congress have not offered a strategy of their own. Its contradictions and setbacks notwithstanding, the Administration at least has a clear goal and seemed determined to pursue it: getting the \$60 million out of Congress.

Not least confused by the pronouncements from Washington have been the Salvadorans themselves. In October, Ambassador Deane R. Hinton stunned Salvadoran businessmen with what appeared to be a State Department-approved statement that said rightist extremists were as much a destabilizing threat as leftist guerrillas. Mr. Hinton threatened an end to military aid unless the rightist "mafia" halted its murderous activities. But soon an unnamed White House official said Mr. Hinton had gone too far. State Department officials were shocked by the White House reaction. Again, high State Department officials recently proposed—and the White House disowned—seeking dialogue with the guerrillas, while continuing to fight the war.

The embarrassments were not limited to military policy. The Administration was plainly upset when word leaked out that it was urging the Salvadoran Government to advance Presidential elections from March 1984 to October of this year. The Salvadoran authorities reminded Washington's armchair strategists that the fall rainy season would be an electoral inconvenience, but they dutifully agreed to vote in December. The Administration had sought a "surprise" announcement to coincide with the Pope's visit. This project "was put together by Band-Aids," an Administration official said. Said another, "There are a hell of a lot of conflicting impressions being given off about El Salvador."

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The World

Faint Signs Of Progress In Lebanon

In the Middle East, any small stirrings in the diplomatic logjam look like progress. Last week, special United States envoy Philip C. Habib got a cold reception from Israel for some compromises to unjam the negotiations over withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. But after the 20th session of the talks, the Lebanese reported what looked like an easing of Israel's insistence on manning five permanent outposts in southern Lebanon.

The Israelis appeared wedded to the idea of providing their own security forces in Lebanon to guard against a return of Palestinian guerrillas to the border area. But a Lebanese spokesman, who went so far as to say the question was "on its way to being settled," reported negotiators were now discussing the possibility of

agreed to let civilians hold elections on Oct. 30 for a President and national Congress that would take power at the end of January 1984. But with hard-liners continually threatening a palace coup, the regime's ability to deliver on its promise was uncertain.

Resurgent political parties gained courage after the military lost last year's Falkland Islands war to Britain. The regime's weakness has been compounded by economic ills — inflation has reached 210 percent, unemployment 11.3 percent and business failures are widespread.

Preparing for the end, the generals and admirals have been vainly trying to get the politicians to agree in advance not to levy punishment for their Falkland failure and for the "disappearances" of thousands of Argentines during seven years of military rule. Until last month, leaders of the two largest parties, the centrist Radicals and populist Peronists, refused even to meet with leaders of the regime.

Then, after new coup rumors and threats by the junta to put leading politicians on trial for criticism that was deemed a "campaign to dishonor the armed forces," the politicians reversed their stand. "Nothing of significance was accomplished," a party official said after the meetings. "But if we had not gone, the Government would have been left too weak."

Healing a Split In North Africa

Seven years ago, Morocco broke diplomatic relations with Algeria over its support for the Polisario's war of independence in the Western Sahara, which Morocco won from Spain in 1975. Last weekend, the two North African neighbors met for the first time since their split to discuss a solution to a conflict that has brought them almost to blows and bedeviled African relations in general.

After much secret preparation — going back to 1978, it turns out — Moroccan King Hassan and Algerian President Chadli Benjedid were reported to have discussed a solution that would involve negotiations on self rule between the Polisario and a Saharan group backed by Morocco. An agreement between these groups might obviate the need for a referendum. The referendum plan has been accepted by Morocco and Algeria, but has been held up by Algerian insistence on prior talks between Morocco and the Polisario. Morocco has refused to recognize the group.

Morocco is interested in ending a conflict that has been a financial drain. After recognizing the Polisario's independent "republic" in 1976, Algeria appeared to see the movement as a lost cause, unable to drive the Moroccans out of the only parts of the territory that count — the coastal area and the rich phosphate mines inland. There has been no major fighting for a year. Reconciliation between the Moroccans and the Algerians would make life easier for the Organization of African Unity, which the conflict has disrupted at various times. It would also help Washington, which has tried to maintain a close alliance with King Hassan and normal relations with Algeria.

After Assam Vote Killing Goes On

After a month of communal and tribal violence that left more than 2,000 people dead, and an election that was boycotted by local opposition parties, a new government was installed last week in the northeastern Indian state of Assam. But the restoration of state authority after a year of direct rule from New Delhi seemed more legality than reality. Power remained with Government troops whose orders came from the national Government.

More than 40 people were reported killed in a new attack by Assamese tribesmen on a village of Bengali Hindu fishermen. An Assamese leader who called for a general strike was arrested.

Last month's violence flared when student-led Assamese demanded that the Government expel thousands of Bengalis and others who had migrated to the state from overcrowded Bangladesh. The mostly Hindu Assamese contend that Muslim newcomers have been swamping their cultural and political identity. Most of Assam's 20 million people are poor, although the state produces one-third of India's oil and much of its tea.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi last week authorized the troops to make arrests and conduct searches without warrants. "We have to be ruthless," said the new Chief Minister, Hiteswar Salkia, a member of Mrs. Gandhi's Congress-I Party. Hundreds of soldiers stood guard when he took the oath of office last weekend. There was speculation in New Delhi that the days of the new Assam government were already numbered. But first it had to last long enough to qualify legally as a break in direct rule from New Delhi, which is limited by the Constitution to one year.

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Gleiser

SAM-5's in Syria Underscore Moscow's New Hand in Mideast Contest

Reagan Plan Grows Stale As Buyers Remain Aloof



Israel's new Defense Minister, Moshe Arens (center), meeting Israeli soldiers near Beirut last week.

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

BEIRUT, Lebanon — President Reagan's Middle East peace initiative was six months old last week and more than a few American Middle East hands and Arab leaders were beginning to wonder whether it would live out the year. Having failed to attract buyers in the region, the initiative seemed increasingly in danger of joining the Johnston plan of the 1950's, the Rogers plan of the 1970's and the Camp David autonomy proposal as another example of frustrated American Middle East diplomacy.

The forces arrayed against the Reagan plan, which calls for the creation of a self-governing Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip linked to Jordan, are considerable. Israel rejected the initiative early on, no matter who else might sign up. The Soviet Union is the latest to put up obstacles. When the Israelis steamrolled the Soviet-supplied armies of Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon last year,

Moscow did little but voice empty threats, prompting many commentators to contend that Soviet influence in the Arab East was virtually finished. But the hesitancy and indecision of Leonid I. Brezhnev's final months vanished when Yuri V. Andropov took power. A new activist Soviet approach began to appear, with the objective of bringing Moscow back into the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict through a heavy new commitment to Syrian security.

Last week, four batteries of SAM-5 long-range antiaircraft missiles, recently installed near Damascus and Homs, became operational. The Syrians and Russians did not try to hide the fact that the SAM-5's, in their first deployment outside the Soviet Union, were exclusively controlled by Soviet technicians. "Syria has become a client of the Soviet empire," Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger concluded. The missiles and the 4,500 Soviet advisers in Syria, he added, had made "the Middle East situation more complex."

Renewed Soviet backing has evidently stiffened Syrian President Hafez el-Assad's resolve to keep

his troops in Lebanon as long as possible, for several reasons. First, if Syria withdrew from Lebanon, it would help advance the Reagan initiative, something Damascus is loath to do since the plan makes no mention of returning the Israeli-annexed Golan Heights to Syria. Second, Israeli-Lebanese agreement might lead to normalization of their relations, removing Lebanon from the Syrian orbit. Finally, Damascus seems to enjoy watching Israeli forces becoming mired in southern Lebanon. It is consistent with this that Mr. Assad has refused to see the President's special envoy, Philip C. Habib, since last summer.

The Palestine Liberation Organization is also working at cross-purposes with the Reagan plan. While the American initiative made no mention of the P.L.O., it in many ways depended on the guerrilla organization for its success. For better or worse, the P.L.O. still carries the mantle of Palestinian legitimacy. For six months, neither Jordan nor the West Bank Palestinians have been prepared to enter negotiations without P.L.O. approval or at least a wink and nod from its chairman, Yasir Arafat. This has always been the Achilles' heel of the Reagan initiative. Getting any kind of clear-cut decision out of the P.L.O. is virtually impossible. As Secretary of State George P. Shultz has complained, "We are constantly following the will-of-the-wisp of what Arafat thinks lately. It is always very, very difficult to pin down."

The 'No-Yes' Solution

Discussions of the P.L.O.'s National Council at Algiers last month made clear that the organization was still traumatized by defeat in Lebanon and uncertain of where to turn. Delegates called the Algiers communiqué the "no-yes" solution. It said both no and yes on every key issue — the Reagan plan, the Arab League's Fex peace plan and on contacts with Israelis. All factions left Algiers feeling victorious except a few exiled West Bank mayors. They seemed to see no-yes as a prescription for paralysis that would only give Israel more time to expand its settlements. Not surprisingly, Jordan announced Friday that it would not enter any Middle East peace talks without a go-ahead from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

P.L.O. officials said they would prefer to wait for a change in the Arab-Israeli balance of power that might improve their negotiating position, rather than risk a Palestinian split by trying to build on the Reagan plan or by recognizing Israel's right to exist. In many ways the P.L.O. is no longer a revolution, it is a holding company. But time is not on the Palestinians' side. American Middle East peacemaking efforts do not have the shelf-life they once had. When the P.L.O. finally gets around to playing the recognition-of-Israel "card," it may find there is no longer a game to play it in. Falling oil prices have taken some of the edge-off of American Middle East diplomacy. In a world of 99-cents-a-gallon gasoline, Middle East peacemaking is not an overriding priority. Neither Mr. Reagan nor Mr. Shultz has felt a need to visit the region or take direct charge. "I don't think the U.S. Government has been forceful in pursuing the peace process," former President Jimmy Carter said last week in Cairo.

Many American officials in the area convey the feeling that settling the Palestine problem has been transformed, at least for now, from an urgent strategic necessity to something approaching a good-will mission. Failure, they imply, would not affect fundamental American interests at this time.

OPEC Tries Again Tomorrow for Agreement on Oil Price and Production Cuts

West Fears Too Much of a Good Thing

By PAUL LEWIS

PARIS — The promise of cheaper oil, brought closer by OPEC's tribulations, could be just what the world's depressed economies need. But too large and fast a price drop could be dangerous.

OPEC oil ministers struggled last week to salvage what remained of their control over the market. Eight countries representing about 80 percent of OPEC production met in London and while reaching no final agreement appeared hopeful enough that one on pricing and production was possible to call a meeting of all 13 members tomorrow, also in London.

Meanwhile, forecasters ran computer projections of how lower prices might affect economic growth, prices and other vital statistics. They acknowledged that a critical and as-yet unknown factor was whether governments and business communities would perceive a price slide as encouraging or threatening.

A reasonable oil-price drop, economists generally agreed, could provide a significant boost for world recovery that would be more noticeable next year than in 1983. In effect, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and other producers would be providing the world economy with the expansionary shove that Western governments have not dared to administer for fear of aggravating inflation. Reducing the huge bite oil prices have made in the consuming nations' economies would allow interest rates to move on down. This is the outcome Wall Street's bulls are betting on.

But a big price fall could precipitate a global financial crash. In this scenario, overindebted oil exporters renege on their debts, companies with heavy investment in expensive energy resources go bust and business confidence collapses. Already there are reports some big oil exporters are being forced to sell Western investments to pay their bills.

"This is the conundrum we are all wrestling with," says Dr. Paul Neil, chief economist at Phillips and Drew, a big London brokerage house. "We don't know whether to revise our figures up or down," confesses a senior economist at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which monitors the industrial world's economic health.

Quantifying the effects of falling oil prices today is a lot harder than working out what a rise will do. Any change now is being imposed on an international economy that, because of a decade-long recession and mountainous debts, is much weaker than in 1974, when oil prices first began to climb.

Saudi Arabia has already warned its OPEC partners it may cut its prices drastically and steal their markets unless they accept the self-discipline needed to keep prices up when supply is plentiful. Non-OPEC producers, such as Britain and Mexico, also have a vested interest in limiting the decline, even though Margaret Thatcher's

Conservative Government swears it will make no secret pacts with OPEC. The Soviet Union and China rely on oil exports for a significant portion of their hard currency earnings, so they, too, have an interest in stability. And American strategists have always found a silver lining in the stable, pro-Western Gulf that high oil prices helped create.

A price collapse could fundamentally alter the balance of power in the Middle East, with Saudi Arabia and its Gulf allies the losers. So they now hope to reset — and hold — the basic oil price at about \$30 a barrel, a reduction of some \$4 or about 11.7 percent.

A price cut stimulates the economy in two ways. By reducing industry's fuel costs, it slows inflation and allows lower interest rates. And by slimming countries' oil bills, it lets them import other goods, increasing trade. After that, the arithmetic starts to involve guesswork — for instance, how far will governments offset any price cut by increasing energy taxes to encourage conservation?

Nevertheless, the O.E.C.D.'s best guess is that a 10 percent oil price cut could add perhaps half a percent to the Western world's economic growth, currently put at a sluggish 1.5 percent, by the end of this year. The gain might be more if Wall Street is right and interest rates fall steeply, but it could be wiped out altogether if the oil price collapses and business confidence goes with it.

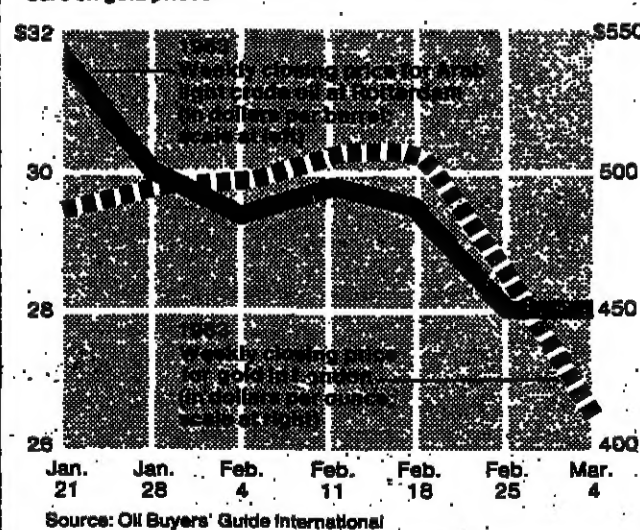
Gains Higher in 1984

The O.E.C.D. and Chase Econometrics think the gains in 1984 could be more substantial if the new price holds. Chase sees the American economy expanding by 4.9 percent instead of 3.9 percent while growth in Western Europe would top 3 percent rather than 2.5 percent. Like the United States, Japan's growth performance might be 1 percentage point better, at nearly 6 percent. "The year 1984 is when the new price hits home," Chase's David Rolley says.

West Germany is calculating that a \$4 price cut will boost the growth rate by 0.4 percent over a year and have the same effect as a job creation program without costing taxpayers anything. France is also counting on a price cut but officials warn that to be beneficial it must remain "within reasonable limits." The French and Italians, who pay for their oil in dollars, are concerned that an excessively sharp price drop will make the dollar appreciate too steeply against their currencies. Britain is looking forward to a stronger world economy as a way out of its 13 percent unemploy-

Deflationary expectations

The drop in oil prices on the spot market has encouraged hopes of lower inflation, which has put downward pressure on gold prices.



ment. Japan will also be a clear winner from cheaper oil but its trading partners fear it may become more competitive than ever.

Prospects for the developing world are mixed. Poor, populous oil exporters like Nigeria, Mexico and Algeria would have to curb development plans and Western exports to them would fall. But the rest of the third world would have more to spend on development.

Holding the oil price at about \$30 won't be easy, however. In January, OPEC failed to agree on how to share out a proposed production ceiling of 17.5 million barrels a day. Today the organization's daily output has dwindled to less than 14 million barrels and carving that up will be even tougher. Nigeria, with output down to a mere 500,000 barrels a day, wants at least twice as much. The Saudis, now down to 3 million barrels a day and facing a \$20 billion payments deficit at current prices this year, also want to sell more — but not primarily because they need it to live. Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states with small populations need to sell more if they are to regain the influence they used to have in Washington and other Western capitals when they commanded the "oil weapon."

In time, economic recovery based on a moderate oil price cut will stimulate the world's appetite for oil and reenergize OPEC a bit. But it is hard to believe the cartel will ever recapture its old power and influence, with less than 40 percent of the world oil market compared to more than 60 percent a decade ago. "The Arabs have had their decade," a Western ambassador in the Gulf said.

Press Too Free For Yugoslavia

Some Yugoslavs are engaging in un-Yugoslav activities such as freely reporting the country's economic troubles in the press. Orthodox Marxists say it's got to stop. The Communist Party was reported last week to be concerned with the extent to which "the bourgeois concept of false individual freedom" had spread and endangered the party's leadership.

The most severe attack came from a Macedonian party leader, Kiro Hadji-Vasilev, who, according to Tanjug, the official press agency, accused unnamed intellectuals of grabbing influential jobs in the press to undermine Communist rule. He charged that their aim was "legalization of so-called political pluralism, that is, a multiparty system of democracy" and said the party would not stand for it.

The springboard for the journalistic candor has been the deteriorating economy, with inflation at over 30 percent, a sharp decline in real incomes and a foreign debt of \$19 billion that the country is having difficulty repaying. "We are reporting facts and figures on all aspects of the economy that would have been state secrets several years ago," one editor said. Mr. Hadji-Vasilev assured everyone that the workers "peacefully and patiently bear the decline in their standard of living."

Argentina Sets An Election Date

Argentina's military rulers last week promised to return to the barracks in 11 months — if they are still around to order retreat. President Reynaldo Bignone said the junta had

The Nation

House Begins Firing for Effect At Defense Funds

Defense budgets almost always have a way of standing up to the most withering cross fire. But as Congress began settling down to the drudgery of budget-making last week, the Administration's plans to increase military spending to \$245 billion from \$214 billion this year were taking a virtually unprecedented pounding.

The House Armed Services Committee, hardly a dovocate, voted to tell the House budget panel to hold the fiscal 1984 increase in Pentagon spending to 7.5 percent after inflation, 3 percent less than President Reagan wants. Wisconsin Representative Les Aspin, a Democrat who serves on both the Armed Services and Budget Committees, predicted that the budget panel would recommend a 5 percent increase after inflation, the druthers of the House's Democratic leadership.

More sweeping advice for the Congressional budget committees came from four former defense heavyweights. In a joint statement, they urged adoption of a five-year plan that would reduce the planned growth of arms spending by \$138 billion. The reduction, they said, would enable the United States to "have equal security for a smaller investment."

The appeal came from Robert S.

McNamara, Secretary of Defense in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations; Cyrus R. Vance, President Carter's Secretary of State; McGeorge Bundy, national security adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; and Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., who was on the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President Nixon.

They would scrap, among other things, the MX missile, the B-1 manned bomber and two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers. The cuts were needed, they said, because "the economic foundations of our national security, which are every bit as important as the defense component, have been undermined."

Questions about a primary Administration justification for stepping up Pentagon spending were raised by the disclosure of a dispute in the Administration over how significantly the Soviet Union has accelerated its investments in weaponry. According to an account in *The New York Times*, Central Intelligence Agency specialists said that Soviet military spending may have been increasing by no more than 2 percent a year for the past six years, not by the 3 to 4 percent originally asserted. The revised spending estimates, based in large part on photos taken by intelligence-gathering satellites, were reported to have been generally accepted within Central Intelligence and the State Department but disputed by the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency.

Meanwhile, the special MX study commission was hearing arguments that, as far as the controversial missile is concerned, smaller might be better. Analysts and witnesses were telling the commission, created to come up with a basing plan that Congress would find acceptable, that a smaller missile that wouldn't have to be based on land would be cheaper to build and perhaps more likely to survive a Soviet missile attack. As for the second leg of the triad, the Pentagon is working on a \$7.8 billion update of air defense, to match what it considers a threat from a new generation of Soviet long-range bombers.

Strategic Retreat For Steelworkers

And now the United Steelworkers of America joins the growing number of unions that have swapped benefits for a measure of job security. Presidents of union locals last week approved a 41-month contract that, among other things, temporarily cuts wages by \$1.25 an hour and reduces vacation time.

Steelmakers insist that they need givebacks to match the competition from overseas mills. The union twice before rejected concessions, contending that the companies' demands were too large. But this time, givebacks were apparently made more palatable by industry negotiators asking for a bit less and promising that savings would be invested in plant modernization.

Under the old contract, steelworkers' hourly earnings averaged more than \$14; fringe benefits and payroll taxes raised the per-employee cost to nearly \$24. Even with the cuts, steelworkers who still have jobs (nearly 60 percent don't) will earn nearly 80 percent more than other American production-line hands. Some analysts said the concessions might save \$2 billion a year for the industry, which reported losses of \$3.3 billion in 1982 on production that has sunk to Great

Depression levels. George A. Moore Jr., a negotiator for the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, called the contract a "positive step that will help restore the domestic steel industry."

Criminals Without Bars

A person who made the unlikely bet that certain criminals might one day take comfort in a Reagan Administration policy might have collected last week. In his first major speech on prisons, Attorney General William French Smith said the Justice Department was looking for ways to punish nonviolent criminals such as embezzlers and corporate price-fixers without locking them up.

Mr. Smith told students at Vanderbilt University Law School in Nashville that the cost of incarcerating a prisoner — he put it at \$10,000 a year — was "too high a price" in the case of certain white-collar criminals. He said alternative forms of punishment under consideration included victim compensation, community service and other sentences that would "deter criminal behavior."

The Attorney General cited prison overcrowding — with 30,000 prisoners, Federal institutions are now 21 percent over capacity — and the rising cost of building new facilities among the factors prompting the search for alternative punishment. He said the national inmate population had doubled to more than 400,000 in the last decade and the cost of building new maximum-security prisons had risen as high as \$80,000 per inmate. Still, he said, it would be a "wise investment" to spend money on more cells for the "murderers, rapists, drug traffickers" and others who "belong in prison." Those among them who "truly are chastened by imprisonment" should be offered improved opportunities for rehabilitation, he added.

Michael Wright, and Caroline Rand Herron

On the Social Security Express

SELDOM does major legislation sail through Congress as swiftly as the Social Security financing package is doing. In only a month, Congressional people have heard scores of witnesses, fashioned a bill, registered it out of a subcommittee and the House Ways and Means Committee and headed it for expected approval on the House floor this week — with the recommendations of the bipartisan National Commission on Social Security Reform virtually intact.

The broad support last week's House Ways and Means Committee's 32 to 3 vote suggests, however, is largely illusory. Elements of the bill anger just about every special interest in the country. Government employees have mobilized a daunting television and newspaper campaign against a provision that would force all new Federal employees into the Social Security system. The National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors is arguing that the proposal would "discourage" job creation. The American Farm Bureau Federation is pleading for adjustments in tax incentives to be given to farmers and ranchers. The Women's Equity Action League is arguing that the plan fails to recognize the contribution many women make to the home and is unfair to some divorced women.

The full House still has to consider the trust funds, long-term financing, problems. Options include extending the retirement age or increasing taxes in the next century, or a combination of both. Still, the Social Security rescue proposal is unlikely to be defeated.

So, the reason, of course, is not merely political. Some legislators actually can't Social Security. The most politically sensitive issue of the decade. The national commission's proposals are a package of tax increases and benefit changes that spread the burden of raising \$162.5 billion by the end of the decade to just about every quarter of society. As Robert H. Binstock, director of the Political Center on Aging and professor of law and politics at Brandeis University, put it, "Everybody's going to be asked to take one-eighth of a teaspoon of bitterness."

So, white domes of groups have taken their encores to Capitol Hill. Few are prepared to go to the wall. According to Maxine Foran, director of research and policy analysis for the women's action league, "We don't want to destroy the package. It could have been much worse for women." The National Council of Senior Citizens, which represents four million people, primarily blue-collar and union retirees, objects. "Many groups representing the elderly, to the deferral of cost-of-living increases for six months. But, according to Eric A. Shulman, the group's legislative director, "we wouldn't look to unravel the compromise for that alone."

The groups are planning to continue the fight as the Senate Finance Committee writes its version of the bill, but many of the groups' leaders are privately resigned to the belief that few adjustments will be made in the plan. "We have to get it done, and we group wants to feel responsible for defeating the whole package," said Representative James M. Shannon, Democrat of Massachusetts. —DAVID SHREIBMAN

Trouble at the E.P.A. and in El Salvador Overshadowed Economic Progress

Static Breaks In on Reagan's Good News

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — It should have been one of Ronald Reagan's best weeks. The stock market closed at new highs amid spreading euphoria that economic recovery had begun at last. On Capitol Hill, the bipartisan Social Security rescue package easily cleared its first tests, and it appeared that a nasty confrontation over jobs and aid for hard-pressed families would be avoided.

But like radio interference, outside events kept intruding on Mr. Reagan's message that America was "on the mend" and that his Administration was in command.

The White House's attempt to contain the crisis at the Environmental Protection Agency, for instance, was plainly failing. Despite Mr. Reagan's newly declared support for Anne McGill Burford, the beleaguered agency head, Administration officials were privately speculating that Mrs. Burford would have to resign. Allegations of mismanagement, and of political manipulation and favoritism in the program to clean up toxic wastes, grew. Mr. Reagan also abruptly found himself dealing publicly with the military situation in El Salvador. Just before leaving for the West Coast to attend a series of rain-soaked ceremonies with Queen Elizabeth II, the President hastily summoned Congressional leaders to the White House to say that he would soon be asking for a sizable military aid package to prevent a leftist overthrow of the Central American government.

"You see, this is all part of a plan," said one White House official, his voice dripping with sarcasm. "We fig-

ured the news on the economy and on Social Security was just too good. We had to figure some way to keep it off the front page." Indeed, Mr. Reagan's frustrations flashed in Los Angeles, where he accused the television networks in particular of focusing on "bad news" because "good news isn't good for the ratings." The comment was a fresh illustration of the extent to which governing boils down to a battle for the nation's attention span.

In some respects, Mr. Reagan had only himself to blame for his failure to get credit for his recent successes in Congress. Precisely because the White House thought it would be counterproductive, Mr. Reagan has lately avoided ringing speeches on matters there. The White House reasons that Democratic support for the \$165 billion Social Security package can be counted only if Mr. Reagan refrains from boasting that his leadership carried the day. And he has avoided comment on the \$4.9 billion plan voted by the House to create jobs and feed families in hard-pressed regions, though he has quietly signaled that he could approve most of its features. Here, the President's strategy was clearly to try to ward off a major jobs bill later by embracing a minor jobs bill now, and to lower the decibel level until economic recovery strengthens his hand.

Mr. Reagan also readied plans to strengthen his political support among disaffected constituent groups, particularly women and those without jobs. Yesterday, the President devoted his radio address to his program of incentives to businesses to hire the long-term unemployed, as well as those thrown out of work in the "smokestack" industries of the North and Middle West. He also visited a

troubled logging industry facility in Klamath Falls, Ore. Soon he plans to submit proposals for women, including one to strengthen enforcement of child support payments.

Whatever the wisdom of the White House's political strategy, Salvador and the Environmental Protection Agency seemed to prove that it has lessons to learn about crisis management. Initially, Mr. Reagan's aides admit, there was a feeling that the E.P.A. problems could be contained quickly. No evidence has surfaced, for example, directly implicating anyone at the White House in political manipulation of the \$1.6 billion "superfund" to clean up toxic wastes. But the very fact that Presidential aides say they remained aloof from matters at the environmental agency suggested to many that the President was simply indifferent to what went on there.

White House Staff Woes

The El Salvador situation, meanwhile, exposed weaknesses in the White House staff structure, particularly in the relationship between William P. Clark, the national security adviser, and James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff. Whereas El Salvador surfaced abruptly as a "crisis" only last week, White House officials said the deteriorating military situation had been alarming Mr. Reagan for two or three months. Mr. Clark, White House aides said, wanted the problem presented to Congress sooner than Mr. Baker, who reportedly favored holding off until after Congress could digest other matters. Ten days ago, it was agreed an appeal to Congress for a \$80 military aid package was warranted, to be announced after the formalities of "consultation."

Mr. Clark, an increasingly influential figure in foreign policy, had been insisting on no public comment until after the Congress could be briefed on the gravity of the situation. He also directed that details be withheld from others at the White House. One result was that several key aides — including David R. Gergen, the communications director, and Kenneth M. Duberstein, the Congressional liaison — were not informed until recently about the President's imminent plans to ask Capitol Hill for an aid package. Mr. Duberstein was given only a day and a half to put together last Monday morning's meeting between Mr. Reagan and Congressional leaders. "Clark deals with us on a need-to-know basis," said a White House aide in a tone that suggested that the security adviser had a considerably more narrow definition of need than others at the White House.

The White House staff's frenzied and somewhat improvised activities, plus the skepticism on Capitol Hill about the Administration's course, raised questions about the wisdom of waiting for so long. But the people who think about Mr. Reagan's political fortunes know that El Salvador presents a no-win situation. White House mail consistently runs heavily against the President every time he talks of increasing the American commitment.

Underneath the events of last week, then, is a nagging fear among Presidential aides that Mr. Reagan's re-election hopes could suffer if the situation unravels there. White House officials report that they are increasingly convinced Mr. Reagan will, in fact, run for a second term. They argue that the pieces are in place for a successful campaign. El Salvador and the situation at the Environmental Protection Agency are reminders, if any were needed, that the success or failure of recent Presidents has been a function of unpredictable, outside events as much as events within their control.

For the Ways and Means Chairman, Social Security Reform Will Be the First Test

This Time, The Spotlight May Flatter Rostenkowski

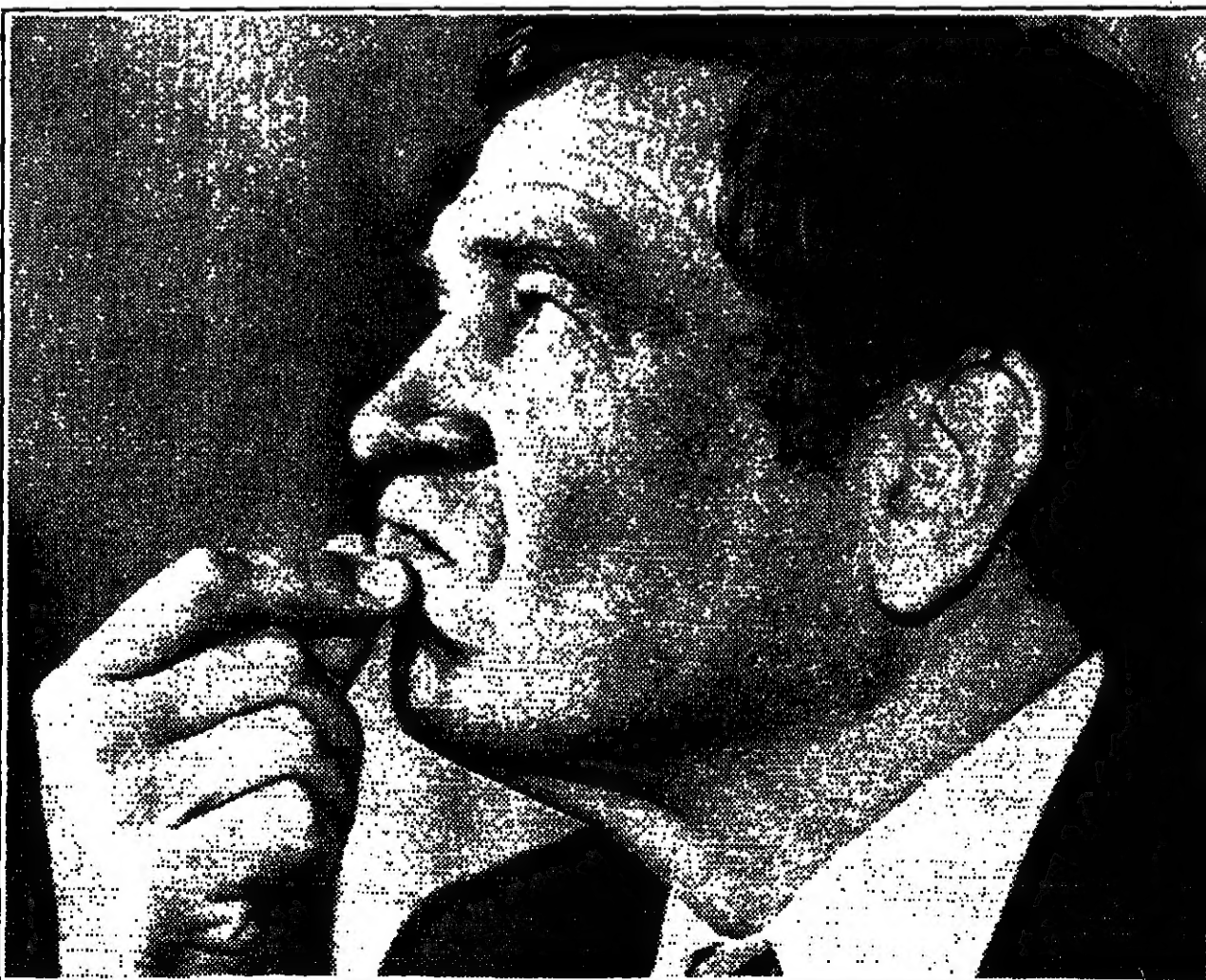
By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON — When the 97th Congress convened in 1981, the new chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Dan Rostenkowski, paid a call on President Reagan. As the Illinois Democrat recalls it, he told the President: "We're both new in our jobs. I'd like to be a success, and I'd like to help you be a success."

Two years later, Congressional analysts agree that the jury is still out on Mr. Rostenkowski's performance as chairman of the committee that is probably the most important on Capitol Hill. The White House and Congressional Republicans have dominated the panel's main business, tax policy, and Mr. Rostenkowski has yet to put his stamp on a major piece of legislation. But, argues a Democratic staff member, "it's difficult to judge Rostenkowski by the last Congress, there were anomalies. The whole system was turned on its head. Nothing made sense. Now things are back to normal again." Another staff member adds, "His time is coming."

Mr. Rostenkowski's time begins this week, as he manages the Social Security reform package on the House floor. Later in the session, Ways and Means will be the checkpoint for many key bills on the legislative road, from restrictions on foreign trade to a tightening of Medicare; President Reagan sent his formal legislative proposals for changes to Congress last week. And another tax bill is almost inevitable, as budget-writers look for new revenue to diminish looming deficits.

The key figure in all these battles is a bluff, burly superb street politician, a veteran of the old school who grabs elbows, whispers confidences, and keeps his word.



Associated Press
Representative Dan Rostenkowski

As Representative Patricia Schroeder, a Colorado Democrat, puts it, "He's not one of those blow dried, game show host types. And you never have to worry where Danny is. He'll tell you."

"He understands the institution as well as anybody," adds a member of the Democratic leadership. "He's very much an in-house man."

Mr. Rostenkowski has made his reputation as a politician, not as a policymaker, and his views on economic issues have been slow to solidify. He can generally be described as a moderate liberal who opposes further cuts in domestic programs and huge increases for the military. But like his working-class constituents he is no big spender. And while he does not think the tax cut scheduled to

take effect in July can be repealed, he recently advocated a freeze on all other tax breaks due to start next year. That could net the Treasury \$130 billion.

Mr. Rostenkowski, now 55, has spent almost half his lifetime working his way up through the House leadership, a passage that has not always been smooth. In 1970, he hoped and expected to be named party whip, but Speaker Carl Albert vetoed his bid. In 1980, political losses by two rivals gave him a choice between two jobs, party whip or Ways and Means chairman. Under heavy pressure from party leaders, he took the committee job and immediately had to deal with a new Republican President riding a wave of extraordinary popularity, a situation that one aide compared to landing at Normandy on D-Day. When taxes became an issue, the President blasted the chairman before he could hit the beach, and buried the Democratic bill. "It was a crushing blow to Danny, because he wanted to win so badly," says one senior Democrat. "And I think it made him gunshy, afraid to lose."

Old-Fashioned Loyalty

Mr. Rostenkowski admits to being "a cautious person." But he sees that caution as a source of strength, and he would rather forge a compromise than go down in flames. "I've interpreted the last election as saying, stop political activity and start governing," he says. "I find it difficult to accept a defeat only so you can criticize the opposition, as opposed to doing something." He is an ethnic politician, with deep roots in Chicago's Polish neighborhood, and an old-fashioned sense of loyalty to the White House. Speaking of Mr. Reagan, he said, "If he wants something, he's my President, and I'll try to do it."

Sensing this streak in Mr. Rostenkowski, the Reagan Administration has courted him assiduously, and lost few chances to praise him publicly as an advocate of bipartisanship — not without producing considerable tension within the Democratic leadership. Some colleagues say Mr. Rostenkowski has been too quick to compromise and give up partisan advantage. The friction surfaced recently when he suggested publicly that Democrats had little chance of reversing July 1 tax cut. Party chiefs felt that all leading Democrats had agreed to fight the tax cut. The speech drove Speaker O'Neill, one of his close friends, into a fury. Others said that the real home of contention involved maneuvers to succeed the Speaker. Partly to ease that rivalry, Mr. O'Neill announced last week that he would run for another term.

Mr. Rostenkowski agrees that he "irritated" other Democrats. But he sticks by his basic philosophy: Fight no futile battles, and make a deal when you can. "At first I was very nervous, very uncomfortable," Mr. Rostenkowski said in an interview. "I know the job a lot better now."

Poland's Abundance of Scarcity

Some workers have plenty of money, but there are few products in the stores.

By JOHN KIFNER

CASTING about for a way out of Poland's desperate economic crisis, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and his aides came up with "Socialist renewal," a program of reform that was supposed to revitalize the Communist system by giving more decision-making power to local factory managers and — perhaps some day — even to workers' councils.

Much of the decentralization efforts are being quietly thwarted by entrenched party bureaucrats. But the one that has taken hold — allowing factory managers to set prices and wages — has spawned a runaway inflation that is menacing Poland's frail prospects for recovery.

Crippled by a lack of raw materials to feed import-hungry factories, already in debt to the West by a projected \$27 billion and troubled by a sudden work force's resentment over the crushing of the independent trade union Solidarity, Poland's economy is torn by two forces: The country's rulers are now faced with, on the one hand, a currency — the zloty — made increasingly worthless by its overabundance, and on the other, an inability to produce enough meat, shoes, automobiles, television sets or almost anything else to satisfy demand.

A major indication of the problem is the oversupply of money — estimated at some 500 billion zlotys, or \$5.8 billion, more than can be spent on available consumer goods. That surplus of zlotys was largely caused by a wave of wage increases in recent months put through by newly independent factory managers under the Government's reform program.

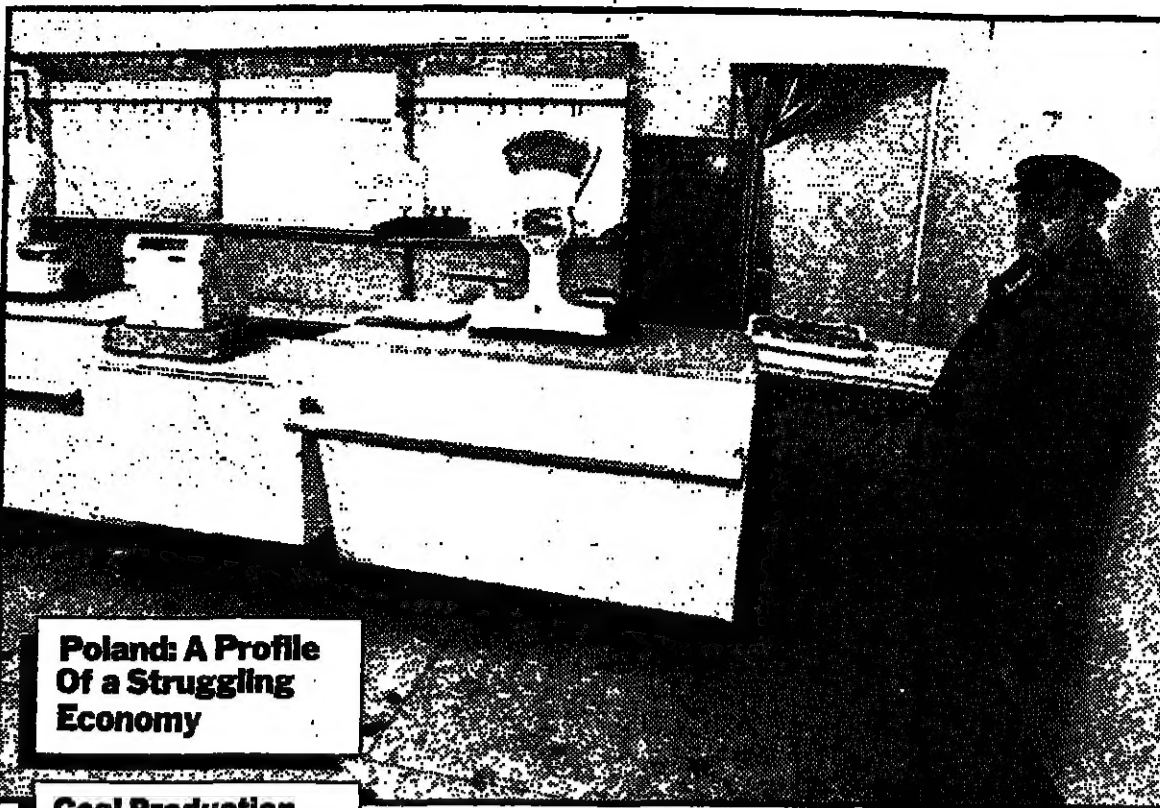
But some managers have taken the reforms beyond allowable limits. The official press recently carried reports of a spot inspection of various enterprises that resulted in the director of a crane factory in Gniezno being hauled before prosecutors for handing out more than 6 million zlotys in bonuses in December, and the dismissal of a number of other managers, including the directors of an agricultural cooperative, a chemical plant, a textile mill and an electronic factory, for untoward generosity.

"The excess zlotys have a pernicious effect running through the whole economy," said a Western diplomat specializing in economic analysis. "The projections for further increases are stupendous."

Acknowledging problems, General Jaruzelski told a Communist Party conference recently that the economic reform was a "prematurely born child, with all its peculiar weaknesses." He said the Government was preparing an anti-inflation program and working on a proposal for an income tax that would fall more heavily on the wealthy.

The major characteristic of the current problem of inflation, according to economic analysts, is that the surplus of zlotys is affecting only a few privileged portions of the work force while the shortage of consumer goods and the rising prices are felt by all.

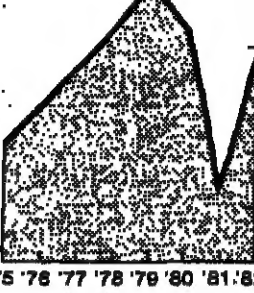
"Living standards are declining," said a diplomat. "In the workingman's family, the struggle is to put food on the table, but the prices are



Poland: A Profile Of a Struggling Economy

Coal Production Is Rising

Output of hard coal, in millions of metric tons



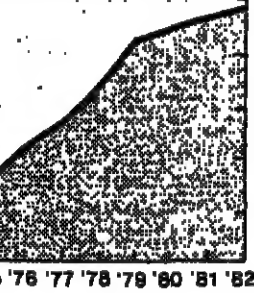
Its Trade Deficit Is Shrinking

Current account trade balance, in billions of U.S. dollars



But Debt Still Grows

Net external debt, in billions of U.S. dollars



becoming such that ration coupons go unused." Some Poles literally have piles of money that cannot go into the economy because there is little to buy, but the average working man's family is

Warsaw life: Empty shelves, an empty butcher shop

stretching to make ends meet. In addition to the predictable category of ranking party and government officials, the highly paid end of the scale includes such key elements of the economy as coal miners and private farmers.

The situation of the miners, now earning as much as 30,000 to 35,000 zlotys a month, — or about \$550 to \$410 — was illustrated in a recent article in the Government daily newspaper, *Rzeczpospolita*.

The miners used some 8 billion zlotys to buy goods such as radios, color televisions, furniture and shoes at the special privilege shops established to give miners an incentive to work harder, the paper noted. But the miners still had some 7 billion zlotys of what the paper euphemistically called "forced savings" because the system could not deliver all the goods they were ready to buy.

(The zloty is now pegged at about 88 to the dollar, although the dollar is worth eight to 10 times that much on the black market, partly because it can be used at the Government's special chain of hard-currency stores to buy otherwise unavailable goods, like imported whisky, perfume and chocolate.)

Production problems resulting in a shortage of goods are nothing new. In the past few months, Polish authorities have optimistically pointed to a gradually rising rate of production — or, more accurately, a slowing of the rate of decline. But a bleak picture emerges from close examination of statistics, discussions with diplomats and Poles, and a compilation of articles appearing with increasing frequency in the official press.

The official analysis of "Poland's socioeconomic situation in 1982," issued last month by the Government's central statistics office, said that the "situation was gradually improving in various areas." Although 1982 was the second year of decreasing national income, the report noted that the drop in the last half of the year was less than in the first half. The silver lining, it said, was in the national income statistics: National income had declined 8 percent in 1982, less than the 12 percent drop in 1981.

Over all, according to Government statistics, the national income has fallen more than 25 percent since 1975. In real terms, diplomats sources say, what this means is that meat con-

sumption — taken by Poles as a basic index of well-being — is back to the levels of 1973, and the level of overall consumption is at 1972 standards. Frustration over living conditions, particularly food prices, led to rioting by workers in 1970 and 1976, as well as to the unrest that led to the formation of Solidarity in 1980.

Government officials have repeatedly pointed to coal production as the key element in their hopes for economic recovery. Government statistics showed that coal production had increased 116.1 percent from 1981.

However, the comparison is not entirely valid, because 1981 was not a year of strikes and upheaval, but

The Economy

Observers here caution that government statistics are not necessarily entirely reliable because they are dependent on the reports of local and middle-level managers who in the past have been inclined to present a rosy view to protect their own positions. The situation is more likely to be worse than better.

Recently released statistics for January showed an overall decline of 4 percent in production from December's figures. Acidly commenting on the report, the Communist Party daily, *Trybuna Ludu*, said that while "we can detect signs of gradual improvement, they do not meet our expectations, our needs or even our capabilities."

Another indication of the failure of consumer production came late last month, when the Government canceled a special low-cost loan program for newlyweds designed to help them furnish their apartments and establish families. The Government had issued 67 billion zlotys in special checks last year, but the lack of goods prevented young couples from spending 40 billion zlotys.

For private farmers, who produce some three-quarters of Poland's food, the shortage of goods, one diplomat said, "means they have no incentive to produce." He added, "They already have lots of money, but the things they want to spend it on, television sets, even farm equipment, are not available."

Indeed, according to a report in *Trybuna Ludu*, the party newspaper, Poland's farmers are desperately hoping for the delivery of some 8.8 million pairs of rubber work boots from Polish factories. Production in almost all industries has been delayed by shortages of raw materials and workers. Shoes, rationed at one pair a year, are one of the items in shortest supply here, with production so lim-

"significant drop in rationed food items purchased, including some 8 percent less flour and 20 percent less macaroni. The meat ration is at five pounds per person per month — increasingly bone and gristle — but Government reports say that between 10 and 15 percent of this has gone unused."

The inflationary cycle, analysts here say, is in large part a byproduct of the efforts of the Government to introduce "economic reform" by decentralizing decision making down to the factory level.

"There was great social discontent over the February price increases," observed a Western diplomat, referring to the martial law authorities' decision a year ago to triple prices that had been held at artificially low levels. "There was pressure within the enterprises for wage increases and it was generally acknowledged they would have to raise prices."

What happened over the course of the year was that factory managers across the country began arbitrarily raising their prices, partly to cover the wage increases. In a lengthy article on the "vicious cycle," *Slowo Powszechne* complained that a shoe-making cooperative added 1,100 zlotys to each pair of shoes "out of a clear blue sky."

And, because the way the Government had assessed a special tax on the enterprises made it expedient to have operating expense increases occur before the new year, enterprises heaped wage increases into the last quarter of the year, particularly in December.

The minister in charge of prices, Zdzislaw Krasinski, was quoted recently as saying he felt like a man carrying a cloth and a bucket to soak up water pouring from an open mains. The unforeseen effect of the limited

EVERYWHERE THEY SAY: 'NIE MA'

For most of February, there was no coffee on the shelves of stores in Warsaw. Indeed, in a coffeehouse on the historic market square in Cracow last week, there was no coffee.

"Nie ma," said the waitress — "There isn't any," probably the most common phrase in Poland today. Last Monday, the last day on which February's ration coupons could be used, some stocks of coffee appeared. Wild scenes ensued, with shop windows broken, counters smashed and people trampled, as would-be consumers struggled for a chance to get the precious commodity.

Supplies continue to dwindle and prices to rise. Meat, already scarce, is likely to become more so; all predictions are for a continued drop in meat production over the coming months.

Sections of the economy are falling apart piece by piece. Even coal production, the Government's main hope, is slipping because deteriorating railroads are slowing shipments to ports where it can be sent

abroad. An ill-advised early retirement plan has left many factories short of workers, as well as raw materials. The building industry is particularly far behind — the wait for an apartment can take up to 25 years and hospital construction is a decade behind.

Recently, shoes were sold here with the soles neatly packaged alongside; the factory did not have the glue to attach them. Private shoemakers, however, could do the job for a small fee.

For the average Pole, getting by is a matter of standing in long lines, grabbing whatever is available, and, above all, depending on "connections," the shadowy illegal economy that provides some measure of relief.

The Ministry of Internal Trade has dreamed up plans for another "reform" — the "direct sale" of the most sought-after goods, such as stereo equipment, color televisions, furniture and washing machines. Under the plan, the customer would first pay the full price of the article, then would draw lots for when it might be delivered.

also of the five-day workweek in the mines won by Solidarity. With special incentives, the miners are now back at work a sixth day in order to increase production.

Still, according to the Government report, coal production was only 84.4 percent of what it was in 1980. This pattern holds in most of the 54 categories of production listed, with only 11 categories showing slightly higher production in 1982 than in 1981. In only three of these areas — radio sets, sugar and vegetable oil — was production better in 1982 than in 1980.

decentralization is doubly ironic in that, in the view of many Western and Polish analysts, middle-level managers and party officials have worked behind the scenes to thwart reform and protect their positions.

For example, authorities dissolved the old industrial associations, which had coordinated distribution of raw materials and allocated production among similar factories, in hopes of spurring initiative and competition. But the rules permitted voluntary associations — and those quickly sprung up.

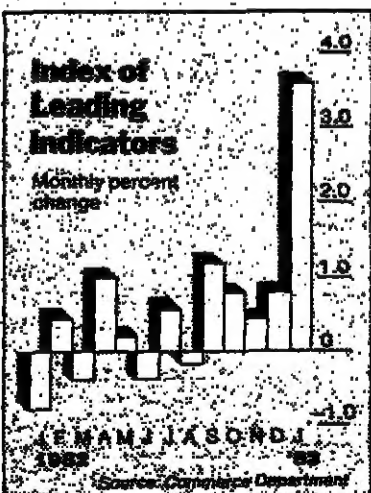
WEEK IN BUSINESS

A New Buoyancy Stirs the Economy

Euphoria swept over the economy last week. Investors, bond traders and Government officials decided — at least for the time being — that plummeting oil prices meant better times ahead. And they became even more enthusiastic over news that the nation's leading indicators had climbed 3.6 percent in January, the largest monthly gain since July 1980. An 8.9 percent rise in construction spending during the month — the biggest since March 1982 — and a 9.8 percent increase in single-family home sales seemed proof positive that the recession was over.

The stock market marched higher. The Dow Jones Industrial average set records almost every day on the strength of high-tech, blue-chip, retail-store and rebounding oil stocks. It finally closed Friday at 1,140.96, up 20.02 points on the week. Even gold stocks recovered from the losses they suffered after bullion fell \$100 an ounce on fears that shunning oil revenues would force Arab nations to sell their gold holdings. Though the soaring economic barometers were warmly welcomed, falling oil prices still carried the day. Said one Wall Street analyst of oil's decline: "It's the most important economic event of the year."

The bond market agreed. Prices



continued their two-week rally on the belief that lower oil prices equaled lower interest rates which equaled lower inflation — possibly as low as 2 percent this year. Fed Chairman Paul Volcker gave the market an extra push when he said that further rate declines were in the offing. Sam Nakagawa, in his economic letter, declared that a powerful bond market rally — one that could push Treasury bond yields down to 5 percent from their current levels of 10.5 percent by year's end — was "now getting underway."

Even Martin Feldstein was optimistic, proclaiming that the Reagan recovery had arrived. The President's chief economic adviser and resident bear saw signs that economic growth this year would exceed the 3.1 percent rate he forecast only a month ago. But he couldn't help noting that those big Federal deficits seemed destined to rise further as lower oil prices reduced the Government's take from the windfall profits tax.

The Commerce Department was somewhat less reserved. It said that the economy would grow at a real annual rate of at least 4 percent in the current quarter — up from the earlier White House estimate of 1 percent — and 5 percent from the final three months of 1982 to the fourth quarter of this year.

There was barely a whisper from OPEC in all this. The cartel still hasn't officially announced a price cut, and it feverishly tried to bring together its troops in meetings in Paris and London in hopes of staying off a price war — one that some analysts said could bring oil prices down to \$20 a barrel. Much to its own chagrin, OPEC even sought Britain's help in holding the line on prices. With weaker oil prices pushing the pound down five cents, to a record low of

\$1.50, Britain was not turning a deaf ear to its Middle East counterparts.

Brazil took comfort in the L.M.F. The lending agency finally approved a \$5.5 billion loan to help rescue the world's largest and most troubled borrower. The U.S. chipped in another \$400 million for good measure. Brazil is looking to falling interest rates and declining oil prices for additional relief. And it will no doubt get both. A. Gary Shilling & Company, the economic consultants, said that plunging oil prices would save Brazil \$2.8 billion. And the Argus Research Corporation, estimated that Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and South Korea — the Big Four — would save \$8 billion in interest costs as rates on their floating rate loans fall to 11 percent this year from 17 percent in 1982.

American steelmakers will find their savings in a contract settlement with the United Steelworkers Union. The workers accepted a 9 percent wage reduction — they rejected an 18 percent cut last November — in return for a pledge from the companies to invest money from these concessions in steel operations rather than in oil and savings banks and the other businesses that Big Steel seems to find more attractive. The accord will certainly help the industry, but not enough to bring costs below those in Japan.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 4, 1983

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Exxon	5,920,800	30 1/2	+ 1 1/4
Sony Corp	5,619,800	14 1/2	+ 1
Sears	4,886,300	35	+ 3 1/2
IBM	4,874,400	102 1/2	+ 1 1/2
GM	4,708,100	28 1/2	+ 1 1/2
AMR Corp	4,681,000	25	+ 3 1/2
AT&T	4,601,800	66 1/2	+ 2 1/2
AT&T Rich	4,321,800	40 1/2	+ 2 1/2
Citicorp	4,108,300	41 1/2	+ 4 1/2
Mobil	3,772,800	29 1/2	+ 2 1/2
Schlumberger	3,612,800	42 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Goodyear	3,345,300	31 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Int'l TT	3,081,100	38 1/2	+ 3 1/2
Best Fd	2,851,600	25 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Phil Pet	2,842,900	33 1/2	+ 1 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues
1,548	466	2,173
New Highs	854	378
New Lows	14	15

VOLUME

Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date
505,497,290	3,894,979,539	2,259,476,583

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Net Chg
102.2	98.1	101.8	+2.85
83.4	80.6	83.4	+2.83
48.6	45.6	46.5	+0.34
95.0	88.0	95.0	+5.48
68.7	65.48	66.6	+2.28

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	174.0	165.0	172.2	+3.88
20 Transp	28.9	25.4	26.7	+0.92
40 Util	63.7	61.1	63.2	+1.84
40 Financial	18.9	17.9	18.8	+1.21
500 Stocks	155.0	146.9	153.6	+3.88

Dow Jones

30 Indust	1161.1	1108.2	1140.8	+20.02
30 Transp	514.2	486.1	511.1	+18.82
15 Util	130.4	123.7	129.2	+4.47
65 Comb	455.0	434.4	451.7	+11.82

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 4, 1983

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Wang B	2,468,800	34	+ 1 1/4
Int'l Bkt	2,308,700	6 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Dome	1,478,800	3-1/16	+3/16
ChmpH	974,000	5 1/2	+ 1 1/2
TexAir	802,100	10 1/2	+ 1 1/2
BFB	705,700	35 1/2	+ 2 1/2
Luria	688,700	16 1/2	+ 1 1/2
ImpCh	663,200	5 1/2	+ 1 1/2
OzarkA	659,000	15 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Asmr	614,200	24 1/2	+ 6 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues
465	306	385
New Highs	915	904
New Lows	186	141

VOLUME

Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date
46,861,130	338,683,180	24,970,000

BROADWAY 80

Please place in litter-basket when you finish. Keep Israel tidy.

I'm glad I changed.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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The Perils of Free-Market Medicine

A package of legislation sent to Congress last week makes clear the Reagan Administration's basic response to the alarming rise in medical costs: open the system to competitive market forces. It is a dubious strategy.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, hospital costs that have been soaring for more than 20 years are likely to reduce the Medicare program to ashes by 1987. In addition to Medicare, which pays medical bills for the elderly, the flames lick at Medicaid, which pays them for the poor, and at the private health insurance plans, subsidized by tax deductions, that pay the hospital bills of most other Americans.

Though hospital costs are increasing at an average annual rate of 13.2 percent, only 2.2 percent is attributable to the fact that people live longer. Nearly 11 percent is due to general inflation and the increased "intensity of care" — the combination of inefficiency and medical progress that raise the number and costs of hospital procedures per patient.

The Administration focuses its remedies only on public programs. It would fasten a tight lid on Medicare reimbursements, forcing hospitals to shift the costs they cannot recover from Washington to privately insured patients. It would also require a hefty increase in the Medicare patient's share of the bill for short hospital stays. And it would limit the amount of company paid insurance premiums that remain tax-free to the employee.

The Administration would add some offsetting benefits, like long-term "catastrophic coverage" in

Medicare. But mostly it would force consumers and private insurance companies to pay more, in hopes they will use hospitals less and lobby physicians against unnecessary procedures.

Yet it is far from clear how forcing private insurance premiums would force down hospital costs. For the most part, patients make only one basic decision — to seek help when something hurts; after that, they put their trust in doctors. Would patients' anxiety about insurance encourage doctors to order fewer hospital procedures? Possibly.

But chances are that the most significant response of patients would be to cut back on insurance "rills" — like psychological counseling — in order to afford the costlier basic hospital coverage. And that response would have little effect on hospital practices. Indeed, more free-market medicine would give insurance companies an unhealthy incentive to sell inadequate bargain-rate plans and to seek out the healthiest customers — leaving the Government to deal with a sicker, costlier clientele.

Our guess is that the safer and fairer way to hold down hospital costs is through more Federal involvement in the system, not less. For example, the Government might create real incentives for hospital efficiency if it limited reimbursement rates by private as well as government insurance plans. Experiments at the state level suggest that such broader regulation is crucial, since it does not permit hospitals simply to shift the cost of inefficiency.

Putting the burden on private insurance may relieve the Government's problem without attacking hospital costs. The crisis, however, concerns costs to all of society, not just the Federal budget.

School Desegregation, Commuter Style

Eighty percent of St. Louis's 59,000 students are black. In September, 15,000 are to be bused to largely white suburban districts, as part of the first court-approved voluntary interdistrict busing plan. Eventually, magnet schools in the city will aim to attract similar numbers of white suburban residents. The deal St. Louis has struck with its suburbs sends an important message to other cities where hopes for desegregation may be fading.

The white exodus from cities contributes much to the despair about achieving school desegregation within city limits. Yet mixing school populations with the suburbs is legally problematic. The Supreme Court held in 1974 that suburban districts must participate if they have intentionally contributed to segregation, a hard point to prove. Metropolitan-wide desegregation plans have been ordered in only a few cities.

St. Louis found plenty of evidence that its suburbs had contributed both to housing and school segregation. Nellie Jordan, who was born 78 years ago in nearby Vigus, testified that her children had to walk two and a half miles, past white schools, to catch a streetcar and ride another mile and a half to a school for blacks. In foul weather, she said, the children had to stay home. Finally Mrs. Jordan "just moved to St. Louis, where I knew they could

get a better education." In the face of such evidence, the St. Louis suburbs decided to settle.

The deal is encouraging for cities like Chicago and Newark, where large black student populations make in-city desegregation impractical. In Boston, desegregation within city limits has placed a burden on white areas, raising tensions intolerably. Spreading responsibility across a metropolitan area can overcome both demographics and tensions.

Sadly, the Justice Department has ignored its responsibility to pursue this course. Since 1981, when the suburban St. Louis complaint was filed, the department has refused to express an opinion about suburban involvement. It has been essentially a bystander during the legal proceedings, leaving the burden and expense of advocacy to the St. Louis School Board.

The Supreme Court upholds the importance of school desegregation, and so do educators. Recent studies confirm that it opens networks of information, provides career opportunities and gives inner-city students greater confidence.

The cities also have a moral claim: their suburbs have a responsibility to help with the education of youngsters whose schools have suffered as whites departed. The St. Louis model deserves emulation elsewhere — and Washington's full support.

Film Ruckus, in Slow Motion

The gossip has been that Attorney General William French Smith never approved his department's eccentric decision to brand three Canadian documentaries as "political propaganda." Zealous subordinates are said to have acted alone, using the Foreign Agents Registration Act to pin a derogatory "P" rating on films about acid rain and nuclear war. Well, the gossip is true. After days of calling, a Times reporter was told by a department spokesman, John Russell, that film reviewing is routine and not until Canadians complained about the propaganda label had anyone made a fuss.

According to Mr. Russell, the label is just a "disclaimer," strictly procedural. But that's not the way it looks to Canada's National Film Board, whose previous documentaries, their source always specified, were shown without a gratuitous label. Now, if branded with a "P," the distributors must also file a

detailed "Dissemination Report," listing exhibitors and audience size — 15 questions in all. All this is no "procedural matter." It's official action to debase the films.

For years, the department had used common-sense discretion in administering the statute, which was meant to expose the foreign origin of unacknowledged efforts to influence American opinion. There is nothing surreptitious about the Canadian films and implying otherwise is a dumb affront. As Charles Wick, director of the U.S. Information Agency remarked, "I don't think it's a credible decision." He urges Congress to change the law.

It should, of course, given the current literal-mindedness at Justice. But the Attorney General ought to join Mr. Wick in saying so. The fault in this affair does not lie with overzealous underlings so much as an underzealous overling.

Topics

Dubious Loyalties

Contempt

Margaret Heckler, who was confirmed last week as Secretary of Health and Human Services, recently told the Senate of her contempt for the Supreme Court and the American constitutional process.

"I have very little respect for the Roe v. Wade decision" permitting abortion, Mrs. Heckler told the committee considering her nomination. She is so hostile to the 1973 decision, in fact, that she won't rule out legislation stripping Federal courts of power to decide abortion matters.

Mrs. Heckler may have thought she was thus showing loyalty to her new boss, the President. Yet Attorney General William French Smith told Congress last year that court-stripping bills would be unconstitutional if they threatened the Supreme Court's

"core functions" of interpreting the Constitution, insuring uniform law throughout the land and maintaining the supremacy of Federal law.

Roe v. Wade has its critics, but most of them are respectful of the separation of powers. They would only attempt to change a Supreme Court interpretation in the proper way, by amending the Constitution. Mrs. Heckler's testimony does not inspire confidence that she will help President Reagan faithfully execute the Constitution and laws.

Sequel

Another magnificent "Masterpiece Theatre" series comes to an end tonight with the final installment of "Winston Churchill: The Wilderness Years." Worse news, "Fawcett

Towers," another British import, ended its run last Sunday.

To understand the fullness of this calamity, one must recognize that on Channel 13, the comedy series came right after the Churchill history — a wholly logical sequence, reports a friend, if viewed his way.

A couple of times, he found himself drowsing off about 45 minutes through Churchill and didn't wake up until halfway through "Fawcett" — named for Basil Fawcett, the slightly luminate proprietor of a country inn. In those first hazy moments, the actor playing Mr. Fawcett looked remarkably like the Churchill series' Neville Chamberlain. The continuity seemed right, too; lots of people in both shows talking British, often shouting British. Dramatic coherence, our friend says; in separate re-runs, the programs will never be the same.

Letters

The Cost of 'Loose Talk' About a Cancer Cure

To the Editor:

Annually, at the time of "Cancer Month," we are inundated with predictions, based on "breakthroughs," that the cure or at least the prevention of cancer is just around the corner. This year these bursts of enthusiasm are occurring early.

On Feb. 20, your front page proclaimed that "New Findings on Cancer Encourage Scientists" and a story on page 30 found that "Advances Spur Forecasts of Cancer Breakthrough." Even an editorial in *Nature* is billed by you as "perhaps the boldest expression of hope so far," although it is correctly cited further on as cautioning that there is only "a chance" that anybody alive should be cured of cancer by what is about to be discovered about the mechanism of malignancy. And there is the rub.

No doubt, more facts than ever before are now being discovered about the molecular mechanisms at the sub-cellular and cellular level leading to cancer. This occurs in the artificial environment of *in vitro* studies carried out in test tubes. Whether such facts will lead to benefits for humans prone to cancer is an altogether different question.

It is the interactions of seemingly unrelated facts, their pertinence to the problem at hand, or their irrelevance, which determine the outcome of any phenomenon. Also, to judge the true significance of new facts, they

and their relationship must be thoroughly understood.

The various specialties of molecular biology (immunology, immunochromatography, biochemistry, biophysics — you name the science, it will be there) have become so complex that only a few scientists, conversant with the specialized language of the science, can truly comprehend them. Those who labor in these obscure vineyards do not talk to the media; or, if they do, are usually most cautious and yet often misquoted.

The enthusiastic "scientists" cited invariably represent establishment organizations which depend on the goodwill and on a measure of gullibility of the public. They themselves may have been at one time excellent basic scientists. Still, it is questionable whether they truly understand the validity and complexity of the data they use to make their case, sometimes glibly talking the language of the specialists as a tourist will babble in a foreign country, impressing fellow tourists but being misunderstood by the natives.

This would all be tolerable if the consequences of such loose talk by prestigious people were not so catastrophic. We learn from *The Times* of major shifts in Federal research financing patterns based on current enthusiasm for cancer gene research right next to the paragraph which quotes a more cautious source: "We

just don't know where it's going to take us. If we start promising cure, we will make a tragic mistake."

The history of cancer research since 1941, when it began to be seriously funded, is full of shifts in the emphasis of research financing based on breakthroughs of the moment which periodically fizzled. Time has been lost and money wasted in "targeted," "mission-oriented" research in metabolism, endocrinology, virology, immunology, chemical carcinogenesis, chemotherapy, chemoprophylaxis, life style.

Careers have been distorted, research units have been established and dismantled, and some progress has been made — largely in spite of these wild swings in emphasis, not because of them. Much of the progress came from better application of previously existing knowledge, only a small portion was due to breakthroughs hailed as next-to-the-last step. What to do?

Bashevis Singer wrote: "The whole world acts out a farce because everyone is ashamed to say 'I do not know.'" A little more humility and less enthusiasm might assure that all phases of cancer research should progress apace regardless of the fads of the moment, with money set aside to support especially promising avenues without upsetting the applecart.

It is not necessary that everybody try to become a genetic engineer just because this may be the right road to the final solution. After all, it may turn out not to be. True scientists should be allowed to follow the dictates of their own curiosity.

If new discoveries were of real significance, they would probably not fail to attract the productive genius — although Paul Ehrlich is said to have felt that he wasted much of his life in cancer research.

Most important, those at the top must resign themselves to recognize that ignorance in this field is no shame, that in cancer research there are as yet only varying degrees of ignorance. There is no way to predict where progress lies, and all work must continue.

F. HOMBURGER, M.D.
Cambridge, Mass., Feb. 28, 1983
The writer is president and director of Bio-Research Institute Inc.

Where French Is Taken Most Seriously

To the Editor:

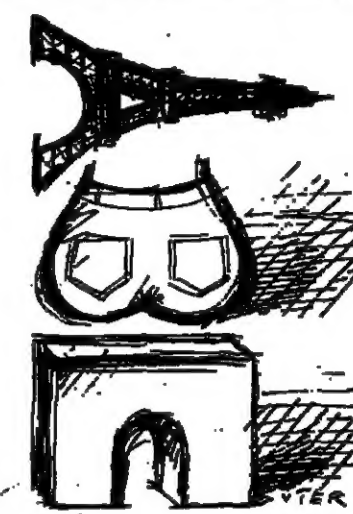
Though not a Frenchman, I do suffer from terminal Francophilia and therefore must take exception to the unfortunate pattern of misrepresentation in your newspaper over the language policy of Georges Filloud. What a way to celebrate the birthday of George Washington, that comrade of Rochambeau and Lafayette!

On Feb. 21, you printed a Reuters report with the incorrect statement that "protecting the French language has been a priority since former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing began a crusade against foreign intruders." Long before that, it was a concern of de Gaulle and of Pompidou, during whose Presidency similar lists of "banned words" were circulated.

However, to focus on this detail (as you do in your editorial of Feb. 22) is to misrepresent reality. In France, language is important. Most French newspapers have a regular *William Safire*-type language column, and the major formal responsibility for the members of the prestigious French Academy is the preparation of its dictionary.

Language is not perceived as being distinct from policy and politics. Hugo and Lamartine were at the

same time writers and political figures; Presidents de Gaulle, Pompidou and Mitterrand were writers before they took office. The petites



phrases of political leaders are seriously analyzed almost daily in leading newspapers.

It is, finally, not from the U.S. that France will learn the inappropriateness of a "domestic content" language bill.

WILLIAM C. H. HOWE
New Haven, Feb. 12, 1983

New Oil Taxes Owed to Future Generations

To the Editor:

To my personal astonishment, I agree with virtually everything that William Safire says in "Kick When Down" [Feb. 28]. The oil import tax, I believe, should be gradually imposed, up to \$15 and perhaps \$20 per barrel, and should be coupled with a long-needed domestic "natural resource depletion tax" on oil, coal and all other natural resources of finite amounts.

These resources have been placed on earth for the use of all its inhabi-

tants — past, present and future. We cannot now change the fact that those who lived before us failed to make use of these resources, but we have a duty to protect the right to resources of those who follow us.

A natural resource depletion tax, with the proceeds going into renewable resource research as well as deterring present overconsumption is a good start on the path to the future. Now is the time to act.

DOUGLAS H. MCCONE
Haddonfield, N.J., Feb. 28, 1983

Air Crash Liability: Montreal Protocols Good for Americans

To the Editor:

Your Feb. 23 editorial on U.S. efforts to raise substantially the international limits on airline liability to crash victims does a great disservice to this new agreement, which will benefit and protect U.S. air travelers abroad.

The Montreal Protocols to the Warsaw Convention involve international flights, historically subject to international agreement. Only through such agreement can the essential framework for safe and efficient travel be established.

Since 1934, the U.S. has participated in the Warsaw Convention, the basic international accord on airline liability for international crashes, which sets a limit on recovery of approximately \$10,000 per death or injury.

Finding this limit woefully inadequate to protect U.S. travelers abroad, the Johnson Administration threatened to renounce the convention and initiated negotiations to increase the liability limit. In 1966, the airlines entered into an interim agreement to raise the limit to \$75,000 on flights to and from the U.S., subject to further negotiations on improvements to the Warsaw pact.

The Montreal Protocols represent the efforts of seven U.S. Administrations, starting with President Eisenhower's, to seek greatly improved benefits for U.S. travelers through international agreement. The protocols would increase the liability ceiling to around \$320,000 for U.S. citizens, establish air-carrier liability regardless of fault and expedite the payment of compensation to victims and their families.

The protocols represent a substantial victory for the U.S., authorizing

each nation to establish unilaterally a supplemental compensation fund, which would enable the U.S. to increase the liability ceiling for U.S. citizens without the consent of other signatories to the treaty. We would hope that Americans would have access to ever-rising liability limits, perhaps ultimately to unlimited liability, but this would become possible under international agreement only if the Montreal Protocols are ratified.

The protocols provide many other benefits: They would virtually guarantee access to U.S. courts for citizens involved in airline accidents abroad. They would establish a cost-efficient means of settling claims, enabling victims to receive compensation within six months after the accident instead of waiting for five to six years and paying large attorney fees for time-consuming and expensive litigation.

Under the protocols, the U.S. supplemental plan also would pay unlimited medical and hospital expenses. The present value of compensation received by victims and their families under the protocols would exceed in almost all cases the amount they could expect to recover after years of litigation. The protocols further would greatly simplify the recovery of lost cargo and baggage through application of modern technologies that are not permitted under the existing treaty.

Failure to ratify the protocols, which will be coming before the Senate shortly, would undermine U.S. credibility in the negotiation of further agreements to promote aircraft safety, fight terrorism and hijacking and provide for efficient air travel.

There really is no viable alternative to ratifying the protocols. We cannot continue to live with the unreasonably low liability ceilings established by the Warsaw Convention, nor can the U.S. afford to withdraw from international aviation agreements of which it is the principal architect.

Like so many treaties that come before the Senate for advice and consent, there are elements that the U.S., if it had the power to impose its will completely on other countries, would do differently. But to renounce an international agreement because it cannot get everything it desires represents a very naive view of international affairs. The Montreal Protocols are the very best that Washington can achieve, and far more than most involved in international aviation had thought possible.

As former Secretaries of Transportation, and as lawyers whose practice includes airline representations, we strongly support ratification.

WILLIAM T. COLEMAN JR.
BROCK ADAMS
Washington, Feb. 24, 1983



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ABROAD AT HOME

Why Are We in Vietnam?

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, March 5 — Two U.S. officials were explaining why the Reagan Administration had pressed the Government of El Salvador to hold an early election.

"The longer you give people to politic," one said, "the less likely they are to get down to the business at hand" — fighting the guerrillas.

"Look," the other said, "we're trying to bolster a government that has a lot wrong with it, and we need to nudge it in the right direction."

The place is different, but the attitudes are familiar: Uncle Sam knows best, we'll show these little people how to fight and how to govern. A memory comes back — Lyndon Johnson talking about "Asian boys" and how well they would do with American help. Today it would be "Latin boys."

Vietnam is in the air, and everybody knows it. It is there in the crescendo of alarm about El Salvador coming from President Reagan and his men, in the crisis talk of dominoes falling and ammunition running out and the need for more military aid and more U.S. advisers.

But Vietnam was a disaster for the United States: a largely self-created disaster, as hawks and doves agree. And El Salvador will be worse if the United States inflates that struggle into The Crisis of the West and tries to apply Vietnam tactics there.

Treating El Salvador as the front-line against Soviet Communism is inappropriate on basic factual grounds. Every student of the place says that the war has indigenous origins, in a long history of economic tyranny and political oppression by a small ruling oligarchy. Of course the rebels are cheered on by Cuba and Nicaragua and have had help from there. But the Reagan Administration's claim that a flow of foreign arms to the rebels is the main problem is dismissed by informed people on the ground.

The military correspondent of The New York Times, Drew Middleton, has been in El Salvador. He does not underestimate Communist threats, and he spoke with Americans and Salvadorans who do not. The report that he filed the other day saw the problems of the war as internal.

Military aid from Nicaragua and Cuba is not a key factor in the guerrillas' campaign. Mr. Middleton wrote, "according to an experienced intelligence officer. Many of the guerrillas' arms have been captured from the Salvadoran Army, the National Guard and the police. . . . The scale of outside aid to the guerrillas is far lower than that to the North Vietnamese, the officer said, and there are no signs of troop reinforcements entering from Nicaragua."

The Salvadoran Army and auxiliary forces are far less interested in fighting the guerrillas than in killing civilians. The State Department, holding its nose to certify progress on human rights, said recently that "only" 5,000 civilians had been butchered last year. Most of those killed by government forces. Yet in all these years not one soldier, not one official has been convicted of a single one of the thousands of murders.

There was an example last month, reported by the Associated Press from a place called Las Hojas, where Indian peasants run a farm cooperative. Local authorities said army soldiers had shot 18 peasants, including two children — and the farmers accused local landowners of organizing the killing. The Government said it would investigate.

What can American arms and advisers accomplish in a country like that? The problem is essentially political. And when bombs do not cure the political illness, what will follow — more bombs? The Vietnam hawks say we made our mistake in not attacking North Vietnam even more massively than we did. Is the solution here to bomb El Salvador back to the Stone Age?

President Reagan heatedly denies that Americans may become involved in the war. "In no sense are we speaking of participation in combat by American forces," he said in San Francisco. But weak as Americans are in historical memory, we have not forgotten how we were slipped into the Vietnam War.

The Reagan Administration has in fact tried to slip its El Salvador policy past Congress, using emergency and reprogrammed funds instead of the regular legislative process, because it is afraid of public opinion. But Congress is not going to be fooled.

The growing feeling in Congress is that political negotiations are the only way out of the Salvadoran quagmire. It was the strength of that feeling that led Secretary of State Shultz to try to put it down with uncharacteristic crudity. The rebels, he said, are trying "to shoot their way" into power. Yes — and the Government of El Salvador shot its way in, and stays in by shooting its people.

There is a focus in Congress for the rising concern. It is a bill introduced by two Republicans, Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Representative Jim Leach of Iowa, that would redirect all U.S. military aid to El Salvador to humanitarian purposes unless the Salvadoran Government agrees to negotiate with the insurgents. The President will resist, but perhaps Congress will rescue him from himself. "There is no parallel whatsoever with Vietnam," the President said yesterday. Congress should see that he is right.

Concerned with changing military conditions, President Reagan has asked Congress to appropriate \$80 million in additional military aid to El Salvador — and with good reason. With every passing month, the situation in Central America becomes more intractable and dangerous. The political, military and social trends in the region are moving in a direction unfavorable to United States interests and clearly the Administration's policies are not working. For me, this raises dire questions not only about the means that the Administration is using in Central America but also about its goals.

The Administration is not only insensitive to large-scale human rights violations and lacking any historical perspective on Central America but, more important, its tactics are wholly unsuited to its goals. Washington's aid to El Salvador, even if increased significantly, is no substitute for the social reforms that would be necessary

Seweryn Bialer, professor of political science and director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University, recently visited Cuba and Nicaragua.

to undermine the appeal the guerrillas hold for many Salvadorans. Nor could the United States possibly provide enough aid to achieve a stalemate or defeat the revolution against the Salvadoran Government.

What is Mr. Reagan's goal? It is simple enough: to prevent the countries of the region from going the way that Cuba has gone. The assumptions underlying the goal are more complex, and it is useful to untangle them. The Administration believes:

- Cuba would have become a Communist state whether United States policy toward Havana during the last 24 years was benign or hostile.

- Nicaragua is rapidly becoming a Communist state.
- The guerrillas in El Salvador, if they achieve a military victory, will eventually establish a Communist regime.

- The revolutionary movements in Central America are directly or indirectly helped by the Soviet Union and other Communist states with money, weapons, training and advice.

- If the United States and allied local antirevolutionary forces are unable to arrest Nicaragua's evolution

Realism Toward Salvador, Nicaragua

By Seweryn Bialer

toward Communism and prevent the victory of the rebels in El Salvador, then, one way or another, all of Central America will be lost to Communism.

Some of these assumptions are more questionable than others but together they make a plausible worst-case scenario.

What are the means by which the Administration is trying to achieve its goals?

The first is major military and economic assistance and advice to the

Salvadoran Government. Washington hopes that at the minimum such assistance will achieve a prolonged stalemate in the civil war and that at best it will destroy the guerrilla forces.

The second is an attempt to destabilize the Nicaraguan Government through political, economic and military means. The most important part of this policy is the covert support for anti-Sandinist forces across the border in Honduras — military units trained and armed with Washington's help that attack Nicaraguan military and civilian targets almost daily. It is also possible that the Honduran Army or mercenary troops may be used in the near future to intrude into Nicaraguan territory.

Third, the Administration is supporting the right-wing Honduran Government and the indiscriminate terror unleashed by the Guatemalan strongman Efraín Ríos Montt. This support, together with American aid, will make Guatemala safe for a particularly brutal dictatorship.

But it is simply unrealistic to expect that American support for the Salvadoran Government can prevent the insurrectionist forces from making significant advances — and perhaps even winning the war — in the next two years.

The Salvadoran Government hopes to restrict guerrilla activity to the northern border area and to resolve disputes within the army. But it is clear to me from talks with representatives of the Salvadoran guerrillas, Sandinist leaders and Cuban officials that the Salvadoran insurgents, who are now for the first time organized in regular military units, are preparing a coordinated offensive against the Salvadoran Army. They have learned how to fight effectively against regular army units and have enough weapons for a prolonged offensive.

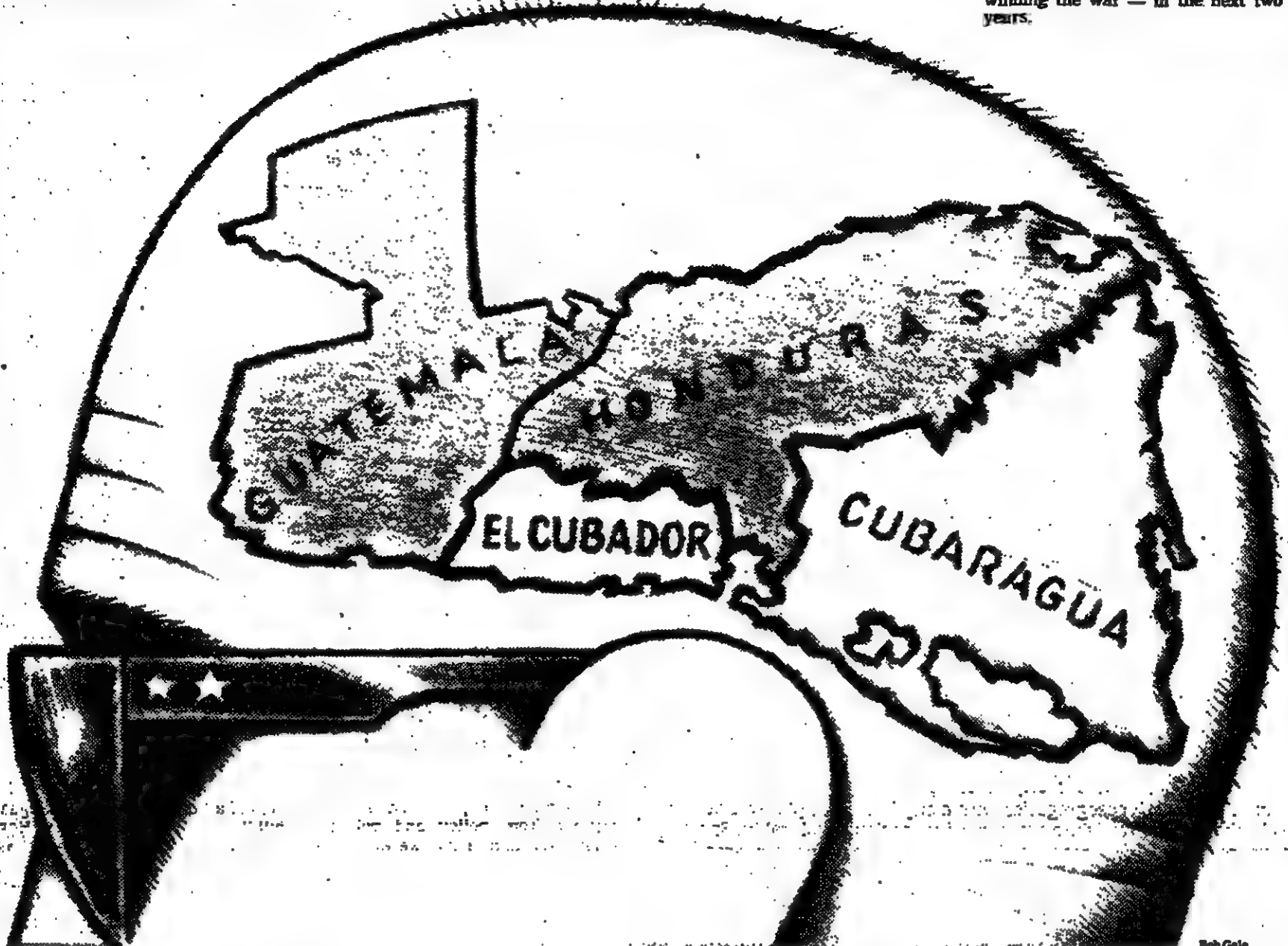
It is also unrealistic to expect that harassment by anti-Sandinist forces in Honduras — or even an attack by the Honduran Army — will defeat the Sandinists or prevent their evolution toward Communism.

The only way the United States could defeat the Salvadoran rebels and reverse the Nicaraguan revolution would be to commit its own military forces, coming to the aid of the Salvadoran Government and invading Nicaragua. It is difficult if not impossible to imagine that Congress and the American public would agree to such a course. Yet this would be the only certain way to achieve the Administration's goals in the region. Short of this, the fight against Communism in Central America can have no hope of success.

Clearly, then, it is unrealistic for the United States to hope to defeat Communist — or potentially Communist — regimes in the region. Considering the realities of the situation, might it not be more plausible to try to prevent or alter those regimes' alignment with the Soviet Union? While I agree with those who believe that neither "carrots" nor "sticks" — short of a United States invasion of Cuba — could have prevented the Cuban evolution into a Communist state, I also believe that a less bellicose policy toward Cuba might well have prevented it from becoming a satellite of the Soviet Union. Today, a shrewder, more deft United States policy could still prevent El Salvador and Nicaragua from moving into the Soviet orbit.

The Sandinist Government is interested not in Soviet goals but rather in its own independence, social reform and economic development. The Salvadoran guerrillas are still open to negotiations that could lead to an internationally supervised election and a compromise with the opposition. The United States must recognize the limits to its influence in Central America: A leftist government in Nicaragua that does not serve Soviet goals and a coalition government in El Salvador may be the best deal available — and accepting them may be the only plausible way to prevent Soviet influence in the United States' own backyard.

The United States has probably missed the opportunity to separate what is authentically Cuban in the Cuban revolution from the influence of the Soviet Union in Havana. At this critical moment in Central America, we can hardly afford to repeat that mistake by behaving like an enraged landowner watching the theft of his property.



CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Reciting the litany of Soviet misconduct in the late 1970's is no longer enough to justify the absence of a policy other than containment.

Like the Carter Administration, the Reagan Administration has been split between moderates, hardliners who want to minimize risks with our allies

and radicals who dislike negotiating with the Soviet Union or want to use pressure to try to change the Soviet system.

The obstacles to a sensible policy remain enormous. First, neither side understands the other well. Confronted with the Russian tradition of secrecy and authoritarianism, we tend to see the Soviet Union both as a military monster and as an economy on the verge of collapse. Confronted with an overabundance of information about the United States, the Kremlin resorts to explanations in which Marxism, even tempered, still plays an unhelpful role; and Moscow is often slow in understanding the significance of American events. Only now does Moscow seem to recognize that Ronald Reagan is not Richard M. Nixon — just when there are signs that some of Mr. Reagan's original positions can be modified in order to accommodate reality.

Second, each superpower is in Stanley Hoffmann is professor of the civilization of France at Harvard University. His forthcoming book, "Dead Ends," deals with past and current United States foreign policy.

It is difficult to praise vocational training institutions for preparing students for the world of work when these schools reinforce the inequities of the workplace by training girls for one set of jobs and boys for another.

Today's labor force is largely segregated on the basis of sex. Women account for 99 percent of the nation's secretaries, 98 percent of dental assistants and 97 percent of household workers, but only 3 percent of all engineers, 0.5 percent of plumbers and 0.2 percent of electricians. This segregation produces a huge disparity between men's and women's earnings, since those occupations considered "men's work" offer higher salaries than those in which women are employed.

For example, the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that a male plumber earns \$347 weekly; an electrician, \$308; and a welder, \$420. A typist, however, earns an average of \$189 a week; a female nursing aide earns

Ruth Friedman is staff director of the Full Access and Rights to Education Coalition, sponsored by the Center for Public Advocacy Research.

\$155, and a sales clerk, \$140. Such wage differences are so pervasive that women overall earn only 59 percent of what men earn, and most working women earn less than \$10,000 a year.

New York City's vocational education system, the country's largest, provides a good example of how these inequities are perpetuated. Of the city's 21 job-training high schools, 12 had enrollments last year that were primarily male; five more had predominantly female populations. The primarily female schools prepared their students for consistently lower paying employment than that of their male counterparts.

Manhattan's Chelsea Vocational, which trains students in electronics and computer servicing, had a 95 percent male student body last year; Brooklyn's Automotive High School claimed an enrollment of nearly 1,000 boys — and 3 girls. At Manhattan's Mabel Dean Bacon and Jane Addams in the Bronx — both offering cosmetology, health assistance and clerical programs — the student populations were 99.3 percent and 98.1 percent female. Even in the few vocational

schools with a more even balance between male and female enrollment, boys are found overwhelmingly in carpentry, drafting and aviation courses, while girls prepare to be stenographers and dental aides.

What has produced the extreme sex segregation in these schools? While educators are quick to blame parental attitudes or "peer pressure," the Board of Education must assume much responsibility. Many of these schools were founded as single-sex institutions at a time when such distinctions were not widely questioned. But today — when 9 out of 10 girls will

Contain Moscow; Cooperate, Too

By Stanley Hoffmann

cult for the executive to follow a policy of resistance and cooperation. Conservatives are suspicious of attempts to cooperate with Moscow — and contemptuously dismiss such a strategy if it does not quickly deliver Soviet "good behavior." The dismal Soviet record on human rights inhibits efforts of collaboration.

But containment is not enough, for the simple reason that it provides no answer to the perils of an uncontrolled military technology and no solution to the domestic and regional conflicts that, in much of the world, break out for essentially local reasons. These conflicts certainly provide opportunities for the Soviet Union and its allies, but they can just as certainly not be avoided or resolved by an anti-Soviet policy or support for any force that calls itself anti-Communist. Confrontation only helps the Soviet Union to concentrate its often wasteful economy on the simple priority of defense.

The moment has come for something new. Arms control is a vital necessity. The evolution of technology, the Soviet military buildup and our response to it, the need to extend deterrence to Western Europe — these changed conditions have pushed aside the idea of stable mutual deterrence through the threat of assured destruction. Both sides now confront the dangerous notion of deterrence through the threat of actually fighting a nuclear war with weapons that, like cruise missiles, will soon be unverifiable, and weapons such as the Pershing 2, the MX and the Trident 2 that can hit the weapons and the central command and communications of the other side. These weapons undermine crisis stability by inducing the opponent to pre-empt in a crisis or to launch its forces on warning. We risk stumbling into a war nobody could control.

In the past, the nuclear and conventional arms race between the superpowers has largely been driven by their European concerns. But now a new and more tricky arms race may develop in East Asia, where there are not two but four main actors: the superpowers, China and Japan. In the Persian Gulf area, the prospect of an American Rapid Deployment Force risks raising the Soviet Union's military stake in Afghanistan.

But both sides find the armaments burden heavy and both have serious economic problems. Both have a record of frustration in their efforts to win friends and gain influence in the third world: we in Central America and Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union in the Middle East, both of us in Southern Africa. While dreaming of con-

tainment, Moscow increasingly recognizes the autonomy of third world political and social forces, the realities of economic interdependence and the impossibility of controlling or winning a nuclear war. Thus the moment offers not only dangers but opportunities.

Our policy should be one of limited containment and limited cooperation: limited containment, because the problem of resisting Soviet military pressures (and political pressures backed by force) arises primarily in Europe and in East Asia. In the rest of the world, our objective ought to be both to deal on their own merits with the conflicts that could lead to a Soviet-American confrontation and to obtain a measure of disengagement by both superpowers. This is where cooperation comes in. It can never be anything but limited since the Soviet Union will continue to try to expand its influence abroad and to insure the security of its borders by keeping its neighbors weak or "friendly," and the Soviet regime will continue to be repugnant to our values.

Cooperation is nevertheless essential for two main reasons. The first is to make sure that our respective interests and commitments in internal and regional conflicts in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America do not lead to confrontations that could drain our resources and strain our mutual relations (as well as America's relations with its allies) far beyond the advantages either side can hope to derive from such engagements. The second goal is to control the nuclear arms race.

Desex Schooling For Jobs

By Ruth Friedman

work outside the home, many as the sole supporters of their families — these divisions prove economically crippling to young women, and the maintenance of virtually separate vocational programs for girls and boys can no longer be tolerated.

If girls are to obtain vocational training in the predominantly male schools, many changes must be made. To name two, guidance counselors must no longer steer girls away from carpentry, electronics or computer technology programs, and sex-biased admission tests — such as those requiring unnecessary recognition of shop tools — must be discarded.

Girls who do manage to enter the "boys' trade schools are often antagonized, and this too must change. Many students suffer unchecked harassment by male peers; others report ill treatment by shop teachers who feel girls "don't belong here." In part because of a hostile environment, girls tend to drop out of these schools quickly. (Indeed, many parents worry less about training their daughters as welders and carpenters than they do about placing them in schools so overwhelmingly male.) Consequently, not

many girls have ever graduated from the city's male trade schools.

For young women, eliminating vocational sex segregation is an economic imperative. Although it is widely believed that women's entrance into the labor market reflects their yearning for "fulfillment," the fact is that women need the money. For many, the need is even greater than that of men, because they must support one of a growing number of single-parent, female-headed households: As of 1980 (the last year for which data are available), such families accounted for 45 percent of all New York City households and 77 percent of all families living below poverty level. Others need to supplement a spouse's income.

Job openings in our cities are still to be found in traditionally male craft and manufacturing areas, and technological changes are increasing the demand for computer technicians and servicers. Girls need the chance to seek high paying employment in such fields. It is time for vocational schools to give them that chance and to stop perpetuating the inequities of the workforce.

many girls have ever graduated from the city's male trade schools.

For young women, eliminating vocational sex segregation is an economic imperative. Although it is widely believed that women's entrance into the labor market reflects their yearning for "fulfillment," the fact is that women need the money. For many, the need is even greater than that of men, because they must support one of a growing number of single-parent, female-headed households: As of 1980 (the last year for which data are available), such families accounted for 45 percent of all New York City households and 77 percent of all families living below poverty level. Others need to supplement a spouse's income.

Job openings in our cities are still to be found in traditionally male craft and manufacturing areas, and technological changes are increasing the demand for computer technicians and servicers. Girls need the chance to seek high paying employment in such fields. It is time for vocational schools to give them that chance and to stop perpetuating the inequities of the workforce.

Arts & Leisure

After 'Chariots of Fire,' the Legend of 'Tarzan'

By BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

LONDON
It was a very busy rain forest, packed with such exotic wildlife as pink flamingos, striped antelopes, and men shouting "quiet, everyone," "action" and "cut." In a clearing, a well-known British actor was patiently standing waist-deep in a rock pool. "Five-two-seven take four," echoed through the steaming foliage, and Ian Holm proceeded yet again to soap his body, scrub his face and duck his head beneath the waterline, watched by a cooperative python and by a young man mimicking his actions from a nearby log. Mr. Holm is portraying a Belgian explorer in Africa; the young man, Christopher Lambert, is playing none other than Tarzan, the legendary ape man, whose story is once more headed for the screen.

Hugh Hudson, the director, looked satisfied. Things were going better than the day before, when the baby Tarzan had persisted in crying throughout the afternoon, despite the efforts of his ape-mother to soothe

him. "There's everything here you're not supposed to act with," he wryly confided, "animals, birds, babies, children, water." It is clearly just as well that Mr. Hudson, like the protagonists of his award-winning "Chariots of Fire," takes a positive relish in overcoming obstacles.

"Greystoke: The Legend of Tarzan, The Lord of the Apes," as the film is called, began shooting in the Camerons in November, and is now on a forest-set in Elstree Studios, just outside London. Mr. Hudson has made many documentaries in his 46 years, starting with a home movie about the Cromwellian wars at age 8 and reaching a climax with an acclaimed biography of the racing-driver Juan Fangio in 1976; but he is a relative newcomer to fictional films. "Chariots" was his first, the Tarzan saga only his second.

Its success, when it is released later this year, is evidently very important to him, and not merely because it will permit him to prove that his brilliant debut was no fluke. He feels passionately that Edgar Rice Burroughs, unpretentious and uneven writer though he was, changed on an elemental and

almost endlessly resonant myth in his invention of Tarzan: like Frankenstein, like Dracula, even like Homer's Odysseus. Mr. Hudson's treatment of the wild boy who discovers he's really heir to the Earl of Greystoke will therefore be unusually faithful to the original, remarkably realistic, and, for all its excitement and fun, surprisingly serious.

"It's about Adam and Eve, the Garden of Eden," he says. "It's about the loss of innocence and about the evolutionary urge. This boy is discovered by a Belgian, d'Arnot, and he's taught language. Up to that point he's very contented, but d'Arnot is the snake in the myth. He gives him the word, and from that point you could say he's lost. The question is, does he have to go on to join society, or not?"

"The story asks you to consider how society lives, halfway between the apes and the angels, aspiring to go up yet coming from down there. It's about the battle of nature and nurture, nature and culture — a dilemma, a terrible dichotomy in us all. It's about the freedom of the jungle and the distortions and strictures of society, and how perhaps we can't do without either of them. There's not enough nature in society, and maybe not enough society in nature. The thing is about that sort of balance, which is so tender, so difficult to achieve, yet so essential to all of us. It's about two opposing forces, which shouldn't be op-



posing at all." Warner Bros. offered Mr. Hudson "Greystoke" after seeing but before distributing "Chariots of Fire." An early idea had apparently been that it should be directed by its first screenwriter, Robert Towne; and this change of creative responsibility wasn't accomplished without some well-publicized acrimony. Mr. Hudson accepted. Michael Austin was brought in to revise Mr. Towne's script, which was considered too long. Mr. Towne himself is now credited as Mr. Austin's co-writer, but under his pseudonym, P. H. Vazak.

The finished screenplay, describing Tarzan's birth, upbringing and trip to England, takes few liberties with the two books from which it is drawn. "I'm not saying we follow every single line," says Mr. Hudson, "but, yes, definitely, we've gone back to the source."

The search for a location traversed the world: from Borneo, which has given the Elstree set some marvelously jagged limestone rocks, to West Africa. The Camerons was selected because, in Mr. Hudson's words, "it's got all the wildlife, all the rain forest, it's stable politically, and it's the next state down from the Gabon, where Burroughs set his story." But who would be monarch of its jungles?

Mr. Hudson's choice, reached after an equally arduous search, was Mr. Lambert, a relatively obscure French actor, a 25-year-old with nothing of the chest-pounding he-man about him. "It

Hugh Hudson, at left, the director of the new Tarzan movie, and, below, Christopher Lambert, who portrays the Lord of the Apes. "The story asks you to consider how society lives, halfway between the apes and the angels, aspiring to go up yet coming from down there."



was essential to cast unknowns as both Tarzan and Jane," explains Mr. Hudson. "They are complete innocents, and therefore somebody new is more acceptable to the audience than a face you know. They also represent the innocent side of ourselves, and we should be able to identify with them. So Tarzan is what we might be; if we had lived like that: light, lithe, every muscle used, but not rippling like a Charles Atlas."

His Jane will be the New York fashion model Andi McDowell, who has never acted professionally before. Funnily enough, Mr. Hudson did not see many other girls before deciding that her somewhat shy and vulnerable face was the ideal one.

Benedict Nightingale frequently reports from England on the cultural scene.

The Enduring Legacy Of Tennessee Williams

By MICHIO KAKUTANI

Such was the vitality of the late Tennessee Williams' work that his plays not only shaped the aspirations of an entire generation of playwrights, directors and actors, but they also re-defined the scope and poetic possibilities of the American theater. His vision was an unaccommodated one — a vision of the world as a kind of jungle, in which shafts of sunlight illuminated patches of extraordinary beauty, but also disclosed the ugly consequences of memory and desire. Mr. Williams once announced his intention to air all those "closets, attics and basements of human behavior" that had previously been "bolted in the dark, and what he usually found inside was guilt and desperation — the pain of individuals longing for intimacy, but trapped in their own frailties and lies. And yet, there was no real despair, for Mr. Williams's voice — alternately lyrical and ribald, urgent and romantic — also promised compassion and earthy vigor and a hint of transcendence, too.

"In order to negotiate life," says Miss Ashley, "most people sort of chart an emotional course to avoid the rocks and shoals, so your ship doesn't crack up. But Tennessee wrote about all of those shoals and reefs and the monsters in the sea that come up and eat the boat. He went into the taboos of the heart and let us know that we don't have to carve out of our souls, the innocence and the madness — the things society wants to amputate. He saw life whole — not just the skin on the hand, but the bones and the blood in the veins beneath."

Though essentially concerned with the existential confusions of living, Mr. Williams's plays are not devoid of social content. The nostalgia of Blanche and Amanda for a prettier and more honorable past reflects a Southerner's disaffection with the commercial brutalities of contemporary America, and plays like "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" portray what the playwright called "the mendacity that underlies the thinking and feeling of our affluent society."

Given their exploration of matters polite society would rather ignore — nymphomania and rape in "A Streetcar Named Desire," for instance — Mr. Williams's plays initially provoked indignation, but they ended up changing the way the theater portrays sexuality and violent emotion. These nightmare images — the gothic blooms of the playwright's rebellion against the Puritanism of his youth — were nonetheless mediated by a sense of affirmation. In "Camino Real," Don Quixote announces that "the violets in the mountains have broken through the rocks," and his other heroes, sinners though they may be, never stop looking for salvation, for a chance to embrace those "superior things! Things of the mind and the spirit!" Indeed Mr. Williams could have been talking about his own work, when he wrote in "Streetcar" that a lyricism "gracefully attenuates the atmosphere of decay."

Whether it is elegiac as in "Glass Menagerie" or sensual as in "Cat," atmosphere always defines Mr. Williams's plays. "The straight realistic play with its genuine Frigidaire and authentic ice cubes" never interested him at all, and his own work employs poetic symbolism — a rose, a bird take on metaphysical resonance — that invests his characters with a mythic dimension.

These expressionistic tendencies became more heightened in later years, for Mr. Williams, like so many artists, gradually moved away from the more straightforward plays that gave him early fame. Following "Night of the Iguana," his work became increasingly abstract, the action more internalized. "Small Craft Warnings," for one, had little narrative line, and "Clothes for a Summer

Hotel" was essentially a "tone poem" about madness and death.

The later plays also appeared to grow more concerned with the playwright's inner history. "Something Cloudy, Something Clear" drew heavily on the playwright's own experiences as a young man in Provincetown, and "Clothes" used the story of Scott Fitzgerald to chronicle his own fears about failure and the loss of creativity. In a sense, though, these plays only accentuated an autobiographical impulse that had existed from the beginning. The family portrait rendered in "Glass Menagerie," after all, bore a remarkable resemblance to Mr. Williams's own.

"You can't manufacture unreal people," he said, "You have to transmute their reality through your concept of them. They became sifted through myself so that something of my own life went into their creation."

A sickly child who grew up alienated from the stuffy, moralistic world of his youth, Mr. Williams watched his sister Rose slip into madness — later

to be content to play parts that were secondary for the rest of my life. "Streetcar" lifted me out of that rut." Those same sentiments are echoed by Miss Ashley, who played Maggie in the 1975 revival of "Cat." "I was having to do third-rate television shows," she recalls. "Then Tennessee gave me 'Cat' to do, and it was quite literally my salvation."

Mr. Williams, on his part, was capable of expressing support for actors he liked. Irene Selznick, the producer of "Streetcar," recalls, "I was very concerned because Marion was leaving out certain words, but Tennessee said, 'He's conveying it without words. Leave the boy alone.'"

Self-conscious and "morbidly shy," Mr. Williams responded to stress with laughter — what he called "my substitute for lamentation" — and self-deprecating wit. In fact what Mr. Williams's colleagues remember best was his marvelous laugh — a nervous, funny laugh, half-way between a guffaw and a cackle, that erupted at the most improbable times. "The more intense the work became, the more Tennessee would laugh," recalls Robert Whitehead, the producer of "Orpheus Descending." "There was a minor-key quality to it — a kind of humorous sense of human frailty. In the beginning, it never seemed manic, but in later years, it had a kind of edge."

The last few decades of Mr. Williams's life, in fact, became increasingly dark. The plays after "Iguana" received generally poor reviews, and the fact that he was always having to compete with a younger, more vital self, caused him bitterness and doubts about the resilience of his talent.

The death of his lover, Frank Merlo, in 1963 also diminished Mr. Williams's world, and he began to rely on alcohol and drugs. That period, he later said, contributed to the increasingly impressionistic nature of his plays: "I was on speed and my mind started going too fast for the typewriter — the work was different after that."

Like his characters whose fragility belies great strength — Blanche, remember, is both a tiger and a moth — Mr. Williams struggled on, getting up at 5 every morning to work on new plays and revise old ones. After the disastrous Broadway run of "Clothes" in 1980, the theaters grew smaller, the productions less elaborate, but he continued to work.

"Whatever his personal pains were, he went on writing," says the playwright John Guare. "You know the bird in 'The Fugitive Kind,' who doesn't have feet and has to stay all its life in the sky? — well, Tennessee was not that fugitive kind because he always had a place to land — he had the theater. I think he is model to us all."

Mr. Guare and his colleagues, of course, drew inspiration not only from the productivity of Mr. Williams's life, but from his artistic achievement as well. Just as his plays launched so many actors and directors, so too were they responsible for young playwrights' entry into the theater. Mr. Williams's luxuriant delight in language, his ability to strip his characters of illusions, his curious alloy of lyricism and violence — these formed his legacy to another generation.

Williams remained haunted by the realization that "the past keeps getting bigger and bigger at the expense of the future," but he always kept the viewpoint of eternity in mind. "I'm very conscious of my decline in popularity," he said in a recent interview. "But I don't permit it to stop me because I have the example of so many playwrights before me. I know the dreadful notices I've got. And O'Neill had to die to make 'Moon for the Misbegotten' successful. To me, it was providential to be an artist, a great act of providence that I was able to turn my borderline psychosis into creativity — my sister Rose did not manage this. So I keep writing. I am sometimes pleased with what I do — for me, that's enough."



The playwright in the 1950's

cruelly cauterized by a lobotomy — and he felt a special affinity for the lonely and dispossessed. Trapped by circumstance and torn between the irreconcilable demands of the spirit and the flesh, his characters are all marginal people — the damned, the misplaced, the incomplete and the frail.

For them, God's presence is uncertain, and they run away from the fact of their mortality, seeking solace in sex and rouged illusions. Blanche, the southern gentlewoman turned nymphomaniac; Maggie, the "Cat" spurned by her handsome husband; Big Daddy, the terminally-ill master of "28,000 acres of the richest land this side of the valley Nile," and Alexandra Del Lago, the aging actress who takes a younger lover — all belong to that gallery of lost souls.

"I have always been more interested in creating a character that contains something crippled," Mr. Williams said once. "I think nearly all of us have some kind of defect, anyway, and I suppose I have found it easier to identify with the characters who verge upon hysteria, who were frightened of life, who were desperate to reach out to another person."

Those characters, of course, have not only provided actors with rich canvases to work on, but in many cases have also given them new or revitalized careers. For Maureen Stapleton, the role of Serafina in "The Rose Tattoo" was her "first big break" — just as the role of Alma in "Summer and Smoke" was Geraldine Page's.

As far as Jessica Tandy is concerned, the role of Blanche "changed my professional life." "All the work I'd done in England had been forgotten," she says, "and I thought I'd have



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THE DECISION last week by British Herut to disaffiliate from the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, to pull out the smaller General Zionist Organization with it, and to join the Mizrahi in forming a National Zionist Council of Great Britain and Ireland ends 12 years of Herut's association with the federation.

It was always an uneasy marriage and the "divorce" was not totally unexpected. Indeed, there are indications that it may not even be regretted in Zionist Federation circles.

The Herut group, always active, always vociferous, spent its first few years in the federation in relative quiet. But once Begin rose to power in 1977 the group increasingly felt the need to flex its political muscle. Gradually, some of its senior people were elected to office, within the federation, but they never acquired enough influence to be able to sway the federation as a whole towards an outspokenly pro-Likud line.

The Federation believed that as an organization representing a broad spectrum of Zionist opinion, it could not and should not align itself with one political party, even though that party formed the

Why British Herut bolted

By HYAM CORNEY/Post London Correspondent

government. And that is what lay at the heart of Herut's decision to leave the federation. The official statement announcing the formation of the National Zionist Council spoke of "dissatisfaction with the state of the Zionist organizational structure in this country and the failure to adequately present the cause of Israel in a positive way to the Jewish or general public."

ON A LESS political note, it also referred to the failure to achieve a United Zionist Federation — negotiations with Mizrahi have been going on for years and have produced nothing despite repeated pressure from Jerusalem — to "abuses" regarding elections to the

recent Zionist Congress and to "concerns at the lack of democracy or accountability within the Zionist Federation."

All this, the statement added, highlights "the need for a loosely structured umbrella organization where all active and committed Zionists can meet in an atmosphere of cooperation and without rancour."

At a press conference to announce the new body, Rabbi Cyril Harris, co-chairman of Mizrahi and one of the outstanding Orthodox Rabbis in Britain, sounded a note of realism when he spoke of "a vast Zionist potential not being tapped in the community." He blamed the Zionist establishment and pledged

that the new movement would go out to win these people, who could number 50,000.

There will be many who share his view that "there is a need for an organization which will re-establish the credibility of Zionism in this country. British Zionism," he said "is in a most terrible rut." But there will be just as many who will question whether the new body is the one to do the job.

COMMENTING ON the breakaway, Zionist Federation chairman Geoffrey Gelberg said that he was "saddened and angered" that it had happened when Zionism was going through a difficult time, facing mounting attacks from outside and was having difficulties forging a cohesive policy on crucial issues from within.

Any responsible Zionist, Gelberg added, would understand that this was a time to close ranks. Instead, Herut decided to split because it "insists on having its own way." The Herut action, he said, was "petulance and irresponsibility."

Leaving "the way back open" for Herut, Gelberg concluded that they must realize that "Zionism is a pluralistic movement made up of

various political persuasions." The Zionist Federation's traditional way of steering the various streams of Zionism in one direction is through democratic procedure: "In a democratic organization, you fight for your views but you accept the view of the majority. This is something Herut has to learn unless it wishes to bring the whole ideal of Zionism into disrepute."

WHAT DOES the split mean in practical terms? Fictitious membership figures have been at the centre of much of the recent squabbles, but Herut claim almost 9,000 members and the General Zionists about 3,600. This still leaves the Zionist Federation with well over 40,000, or so it claims.

As for work, the departure of Herut may make it easier for the federation to reach a consensus of opinion. As one Zionist Federation official said: "We can now concentrate more on practical work and less on futile political debates."

One wonders what effect all this wrangling will have on the Jewish community and, perhaps equally important, on the non-Jewish world.



(Itzhak Kurlinsky)

KEEPING POSTED

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH/Jerusalem Post Reporter

THE WALLS of Mea Shearim are battlefields, says Menahem Friedman, and the posters put up by contending factions of the ultra-Orthodox *haredi* community are weapons.

Friedman, a sociologist at Bar-Ilan University, has been photographing posters on the walls of Mea Shearim and other *haredi* neighbourhoods in Israel for nearly 10 years. He approaches the task with a dedication reminiscent of Western military attaches photographing the latest display of Soviet weaponry parading through Red Square on May Day.

"To outsiders, the *haredim* seem a homogenous society," he said in a lecture at the Van Leer Institute sponsored by the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies. "In reality, it is a society of perpetual changes and the posters reflect its internal tensions."

The tensions, he said, stem from revolutionary changes in the structure of the *haredi* community, which is making it more religiously extreme, more politically polarized, more economically self-confident, and more scholarly.

A MAJOR factor in the diversity and ferment in the *haredi* community, according to Friedman, is the loss of oral tradition passed on from father to son — a loss engendered by the break-up of families in the mass emigration from Eastern Europe to the West and by the Holocaust.

In its stead has come a tradition based on the written word, often freshly interpreted and generally more severe than oral tradition.

"The tradition of books reflects perfect norms of behaviour and puts maximum demands on people," notes Friedman. The varying in-

terpretations of tradition, he says, are a principle cause of tension.

As an example, he pointed to recent graffiti on the walls of Mea Shearim urging people to eat meat on Purim — a book-derived tradition that Friedman, an Orthodox Jew himself, said had been completely unknown to him and to his circle.

The written word has come to play an unprecedented role in ultra-Orthodox Jewish society which traditionally has included not only scholars but a majority of *amot ha'aretz* (unlearned common folk). "It is now a learned society," says Friedman. "Everyone can read a *blat gemara* (page of Talmud)."

In the yeshiva society that has developed, many young *haredim* quickly surpass their elders in learning and derive their own stern guidelines to life from the ancient times. "They are more learned than their parents," says Friedman. "This is a reflection of the posters. In addition, notes Friedman, an unprecedented level of economic well-being in the *haredi* camp permits them to live by the book without bending the laws to suit economic necessities.

Whereas the *haredi* community used to be distinguished by its emotional-spiritual approach to life in comparison to the scholarly *mitnagdim*, Friedman notes that yeshivas have become the focus of *haredi* houses and that the *haredi* community is challenging the *mitnagdim* in scholarship — another source of tension in the *haredi* community.

In addition, tensions between those who accept the Zionist state and those opposed to it are a primary impetus to the poster culture, as is the ongoing battle to avoid incursions from the secular world.

WHEN A teacher asked Ruth Frenkel where she could find study materials to teach her class about winter, Frenkel answered, "Right outside your window."

Frenkel, director of the early childhood and elementary school racks at the Kibbutz Teachers' Training College in Ramat Aviv, believes in going to the source when possible. In her view, children should learn about nature by seeing, touching and smelling it, and should learn about the family by talking about their own — not by reading textbooks with stereotyped answers.

She and her colleagues have translated their educational philosophy into an alternative elementary school curriculum now being used (for the second consecutive year) at 14 schools in the greater Tel Aviv area.

Ruth Frenkel's ideas were first put into practice on the third floor of the training college in Ramat Aviv. When that floor was built, it was a conventional school setting, three classrooms along a corridor. It doesn't look that way now.

The barriers between the rooms are gone, and the corridor is now part of the learning area. The large open space is filled with all kinds of exhibits, from art works from the Tel Aviv Museum to original projects by children, such as the figure of a child made out of leaves.

THE BARRIERS, Ruth Frenkel wants to tear down aren't only the

Breaking down barriers

By LEA LEVAVI/Jerusalem Post Reporter

physical ones between rooms. In recent years, elementary school teaching has become very specialized with specific hours (and teachers) earmarked for language arts, Jewish studies (*Tora sheb'alpeh*), civics, geography and other subjects. (Since foreign languages, arithmetic and Bible are not part of the curriculum that Mrs. Frenkel and her team have worked out thus far, they are not included in the discussion.)

Frenkel thinks the barriers between subjects should be eliminated, and everything should be taught together as "life contents."

"I don't think a sixth grade geography lesson on Greece makes any sense until the child understands what human intervention has created and changed the environment of his own street outdoors, and how that environment changes and affects his life. As for language arts,

anything said, read or written, whatever the specific topic, is part of building language skills."

As an example, Frenkel cites the first topic of the school year "end and beginning." The children start by talking about themselves. It is the end of summer vacation and the beginning of a new school year. They're a grade ahead of last year. They talk about what they've learned so far, and what they expect to learn this year.

Outside, they discover that nature is also in a phase of "ending and beginning." Some plants are dry and withered, but others are blossoming. Concepts of "where have I come from and where am I going" can be applied to the High Holy Days, which are another ending and beginning.

The children go to the supermarket to find out what fruits are available in the fall. "When they open the different fruits, they discover nature's fabulous way of stor-

ing seeds, a different storage system for each kind of fruit," notes Frenkel, who calls these natural phenomena "drama."

"That's something nobody can learn from a textbook in the same way he would learn it from experiencing it. By the way, back on the subject of language arts, look how many new words children learn when we talk about picking the different types of fruit." (In Hebrew, the word "to pick" is a different word for almost each kind of fruit.)

THE SUBJECTS she calls life contents are designed to teach the child about his environment, his society and his Jewish heritage. Another aspect of the programme is use of the arts and the media.

Too few teachers realize how much newspapers, radio and television can teach children about the world around them, she says. Her teaching area at the college is full of newspaper clippings (including ads) on such subjects as the weather and its effects on our daily lives, on fruits and other foodstuffs. "There was an excellent radio programme recently on fall in Israel, but I can't seem to persuade teachers to pay attention to these things, record them and use them."

Music, drama, dance, movement, puppet shows and other art forms are part of learning, Frenkel believes, not things to be ignored or to be compartmentalized into the weekly music or art lesson.

An ingenious mixture

MUSIC/Yohanan Boehm

The two were Louis Michal and Martha Carl, who in the course of the act, presented some excellent violin playing. Avraham Aharoni gave us Mozart on the hoesepe, and trumpeters competed for the solo in Beethoven's *Leonore*.

Surprises popped up incessantly: perhaps the greatest was the members of Knesset attempting to blow a melody on bottles, conducted by Annette Hoffnung. It was something to see seven MKs fully cooperating so subdued as to be barely audible.

The little girl giving the "A" to tune up the orchestra should be

retained as a permanent fixture; the little shofar and watering-pot proved much more accurate than the tone usually rendered by the first oboe.

Alexander Tamir in the *Concerto to End All Concertos*, borrowed many of Victor Borge's jokes, but also produced some impressive pianistic.

A most welcome and successful change from routine concerts. VOCAL RECITAL: Marit Osnes Aambe, soprano; with Robert Levin at the piano (Vocal Music Centre, Elia Karen, Jerusalem, March 2). Classics: Songs and *Lieder* by Bizet, Debussy, Wolf, Rachmaninov, Dvorak, Valen, Grieg.

SOPRANO Marit Osnes Aambe from Norway presented a rich programme, ranging from French chansons to German *Lieder* to Russian and Scandinavian songs. They gave her the opportunity to impress with her range of registers and ability to interpret very different emotions. She did so with convincing commitment, although her self-consciousness prevented complete enjoyment of the offerings.

Her pronunciation in five or six languages was clear and distinctive, and during the evening, she did relax and become freer in presentation. She had marvellous help in Robert Levin's colourful and intelligent performance at the piano, which was much more than mere accompaniment.

Among the singer's commendable choices were four beautiful and not so well-known *Lieder* by Hugo Wolf, and the Scandinavian part of the programme included three fine Sibelius songs, while Norway's composers were represented by Fartein Valen (1887-1952) and Edvard Grieg (1843-1907). Valen used a kind of modified 12-note language that made immediate appreciation of his music difficult.

One song *Denk es, o Seele*, is better known in a most moving setting by Hugo Wolf.

Five songs by Grieg provided good examples of the composer's talent and led to an enjoyable ending of this recital. Two encores were added in response to the audience's demand.

HOFFNUNG: Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Michael Habsat; with soloist Michal and Martha Carl, violin; Alexander Tamir, piano; Avraham Aharoni, hoesepe; Cilla Grossmeyer, hoesepe; Moshe Shalev, baritone; Shlomo Novak, tenor; produced by Tom Bergman and Annette Hoffnung (Jerusalem Theatre, February 1). Hoffnung: Festival Overture; Frank Butcher: "Orchestral Sketch"; Wilfred Mapp: "Concerto for Orchestra"; Beethoven: "Leonore"; No. 4; Leopold Mozart: "Concerto for Hoesepe"; Haydn: "Surprise Symphony"; and additional surprises. Franz Reizenstein: "Concerto for Hoesepe"; "The Concerto to End All Concertos".

ART OF this evening of rampant, lewdness was televised for the whole house of Israel to enjoy. The jokes were hilarious and many, but perhaps the most enjoyable part was the ingenious mix of humour and music for the connoisseurs.

A coughing man in the audience us tended to by "nurse" Cilla Grossmeyer, and they went off with her singing the duet from *Don Giovanni*. Competing violinists, actually fell in love with each other and ending their concerto by using together on one instrument.

ITTINGLY FUNNY is Yifshim Roach, a new feature on Army radio after the news at noon on Saturday. While the title literally translates "Mosquitoes in the head," a closer approximation to the sabra satire offered might be "A buzzing in the brain."

Delightful stuff patterned after the classic of English humour, *Men in a Boat*. The amusing came from a panel including Yehuda Shemi, Haim Silberberg (unknown names to me), Meir Halevi and Moshe Timor with Meir offering. Their light delivery made one think the *bon mots* were spontaneous, when in truth the panel members had a week to come up with them.

If this programme is Ron Ben-Shai's doing, then the new managing director of Army Radio serves more than a pat on the back. Some of the quips verged on

SABRA SATIRE

LISTENING IN...Ze'ev Schul

the permissible, and one fears that this show, which should rocket in popularity, may die a political death.

LESS entertaining but still quite funny was another talk offering, radio and TV critics seriously discussing themselves on the Second Programme on a Thursday afternoon. Did they admit to political bias? Hedi Boches said that to achieve her aim, she has to lash out, and hard, and that her political convictions were part of this. All agreed

that there is no such thing as objectivity. There goes another myth.

KNESSET members with nothing new to say are still predictably saying it in radio interviews. Such stuff should be broadcast in the wee hours of the morning, instead of during prime listening time. This might help the sleepless, not to mention the relief it would bring daytime listeners. One worthwhile interview presented recently (*Press Conference*) featured Arieh (Lova) Eliav. He has just completed a three-year period of political exile, self-imposed, in such unheard of places as Kiryat Shmona and Or Yehuda.

One may regard him as a saint or a dreamer, but whatever, it is hard not to admire his soothing, soft-spoken style, so different from the sort of shouting we get from MKs these days.

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Histadrut's Nativ pension fund has IS10.5b. assets

By MACABEE DEAN
TEL AVIV. — The average pension paid to a worker with full rights (70 per cent) by the Nativ Pension Fund last year was IS15,000, group general manager Reuven Abel, said yesterday in presenting the fund's 1982 financial statements. He noted, however, that many workers did not have sufficient years to their credit to earn the full pension, and that the average paid by the fund was IS11,000 a month. On the other hand, a few workers who had retired with full rights from high-paying jobs received about IS40,000.

Nativ is one of the six pension schemes run by the Histadrut. Its 26,339 members (plus 7,048 receiving pensions) makes it the smallest of the six. On the other hand, since all its members receive comprehensive pensions, "it is the richest per capita."

At the end of 1982, the fund's assets stood at IS10.5 billion, a 13 per cent real increase over the previous

year. Its income last year from all sources — monthly payments by employers, investments, linkage, revaluation of assets, interest, etc. — stood at IS7.5b.

However, the current income from wage deductions, (16 per cent in all, of which the worker contributes five per cent and the employer 11 per cent) not only covered the pensions now being paid, but left a considerable sum over to be invested. Of all investments, 92 per cent (by law) are in index-linked government bonds, which pay 6 per cent interest. Another five per cent is in stocks ("we prefer to invest in index-linked bonds, although our portfolio consists of bank stocks"); and the rest is loaned to members for periods ranging from 12 to 36 months. Interest on these loans is 48 per cent — much below the rate of inflation.

"Nativ loans up to IS30,000 to help a member buy a flat, IS15,000 for a wedding and IS10,000 for a bar mitzva ceremony," Abel said.

Consumers less price conscious

TEL AVIV. — Inflation has made consumers less price conscious, according to research by the Histadrut Consumer Authority announced last week.

Only 46 per cent of consumers surveyed this year compared prices and gathered information before buying, compared to more than 63 per cent of those interviewed a year ago.

Another study showed that about 50 per cent of consumers are dissatisfied with the service they get on their home appliances.

This month is consumerism month and volunteers will visit factories, offices and schools to try to make consumers more conscious of their rights and how they can get the best value for their money. Written material will also be distributed.

Three recorded telephone announcements have been made available to serve the public. Information about consumers' legal rights and obligations will be given on 03-41650; information on small claims' courts on 03-413651; and details on information bureaus on 03-41652.



Open doors in front and back show how much space there is in Fiat's Nuova Panda 45 Super.

Upgrading cost Fiat \$700m.

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Mediterranean Car Agency, Fiat distributors in Israel, yesterday showed the press improved versions of the Panda and Ritmo models. Managing director Gad Feller said that Fiat had invested in these improvements almost as much as in bringing out an entirely new model — about \$700 million.

Shlomo Netzer, the agency's engineer, said that the most significant external change is in the front end and grill, especially of the Ritmo, which improves drag efficiency and consequently increases fuel economy. Fiat engineers have also managed to whittle 50 kilograms off the Ritmo's weight. The Ritmo 60 can under optimal conditions drive 100 kilometers on 5.3 litres of fuel. The Ritmo 70 can go that distance on 5.4 litres. This is an improvement of about 14 per cent over older models, Netzer said. The new Super Panda has a better

inside finish and its engine has been improved, increasing its fuel efficiency.

Prices according to yesterday's foreign exchange rates are: Ritmo 60, with a 1110 CC motor — IS418,700 plus IS2,554 for the test; Ritmo 60, with a 1300 CC motor — IS433,800 plus IS2,554 for the test; Ritmo 70, automatic, IS 486,000 plus IS2,554; Ritmo Special, IS852,000 plus IS2,554; Panda Super, IS329,000 plus IS1,714.

Some of the models are available now, while others will be available in about a month.

11,253 unemployed get compensation

The Employment Service last month approved 11,253 applications for unemployment compensation, up by 505 from January's 10,748.

About 1,000 of these have academic degrees and some 3,200 were women.

Your money and your questions

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

QUESTION: I invested in the shares of the Big Three banks at the beginning of February by converting \$1,000. What is my dollar gain?

ANSWER: A portfolio made up in equal parts of Leumi, Hapoalim and IDB shares showed a nominal gain of 9.4 per cent in February. After taking into account a 5.4 per cent devaluation of the shekel that month the dollar return on your investment was 3.79 per cent, or \$37.90. Considering that interest on Patam deposits is seven per cent a year and for new resident accounts about nine per cent, the dollar return on investments in bank shares was highly satisfactory.

QUESTION: Are purchases of commodities liable to value added tax?

ANSWER: No. At one time 15 per cent VAT was assessed on gold purchases, but this has been cancelled.

QUESTION: The shares of Elscint were recently quoted in your newspaper as being 25-25%. Is this the proper way of quoting?

ANSWER: Shares traded on the American "Over-the-counter" market are quoted in terms of a bid-and-asked price. The "bid" price is the lower one and represents the price at which a given share may be sold. The "asked" price is the higher one. It is the price at which the share may be purchased. A broker may sometimes be able to effect a purchase or sale at a figure in between the "bid" and "asked" price.

QUESTION: I have recently sold a portfolio of shares and have not yet made any long-term investment decisions. What should I do in the meantime?

ANSWER: Commercial banks offer customers the option of placing funds either in certificates of deposit, which are readily negotiable, or on short-term deposits. Both of these instruments have in the recent past given a better return than converting shekels into dollars.

QUESTION: We live in rented quarters. Is now a good time to buy an apartment?

ANSWER: In various parts of the world individuals consider living in rented apartments a perfectly satisfactory solution to their housing problem. From a financial point of view, in recent years it has made more sense to rent and invest one's funds in a conservative manner. If you cannot find a long-term rental, or if for psychological reasons you "must" own your home, then now is certainly a good time to buy. In Tel Aviv and suburbs there are many bargains to be found.

QUESTION: I am planning to buy a home. Is it advisable for me to try to get a mortgage?

ANSWER: A leading mortgage banker recently told me that unless one has absolutely no other sources of financing a home purchase, obtaining a mortgage should be avoided, due to the high repayment costs.

QUESTION: Is buying Israeli art a good investment?

ANSWER: At the risk of antagonizing some of my artist friends, it must be pointed out that much local art is overpriced by international criteria. In spite of this, one must concede that Israeli art, if properly chosen, has shown an above-average appreciation. This appreciation is mostly achieved over the longer term.

QUESTION: I have not been able to learn anything about investing in Israeli shares and bonds by reading

your daily stock market column. You write very much like the doctor who tells the expectant woman that she will have either a boy or a girl. What do you have to say for yourself?

ANSWER: The daily stock market report is meant to report on the developments of securities traded on the exchange. It also should report events which are a matter of public knowledge and may have an effect on prices. The report is neither meant to predict trends or to explain the technical aspects of trading. If you have any specific questions I will be happy to answer them in this column.

QUESTION: I have had very bad investment results. When I buy a stock it invariably goes down and when I sell a share, it rises with its past performance. It almost always has a major rise after I no longer own it. What should I do?

ANSWER: The "upside down" investor is not an unknown phenomenon. Most security advisers can tell of clients who fit your description perfectly. The answer is that you should either do just the opposite of what you initially decided, seek professional help, or just stay away from stock investments.

Questions from readers on problems of investment and money management are invited.

Information in this column comes from sources we believe to be reliable, but we do not guarantee accuracy or completeness. It is not meant as a form of recommendation.

Court stops some Maof charter flights

By AARON SITNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Maof Airlines is due in court tomorrow after a Tel Aviv judge on Friday granted a temporary injunction to the Civil Aviation Administration (CAA), barring Maof from selling tickets for unauthorized charter flights.

The injunction, issued by District Court Judge Haim Dvorin, applies to Maof flights from Tel Aviv to

Frankfurt, Munich, Cologne, Marseilles and Luton.

The judge accepted CAA attorney Naomi Landau's argument that Maof's charter flights to these destinations in the period beginning April 1 have not been authorized or approved by the Minister of Transport.

The temporary injunction also bars the Charter Number One travel firm from advertising the flights or selling tickets for them.

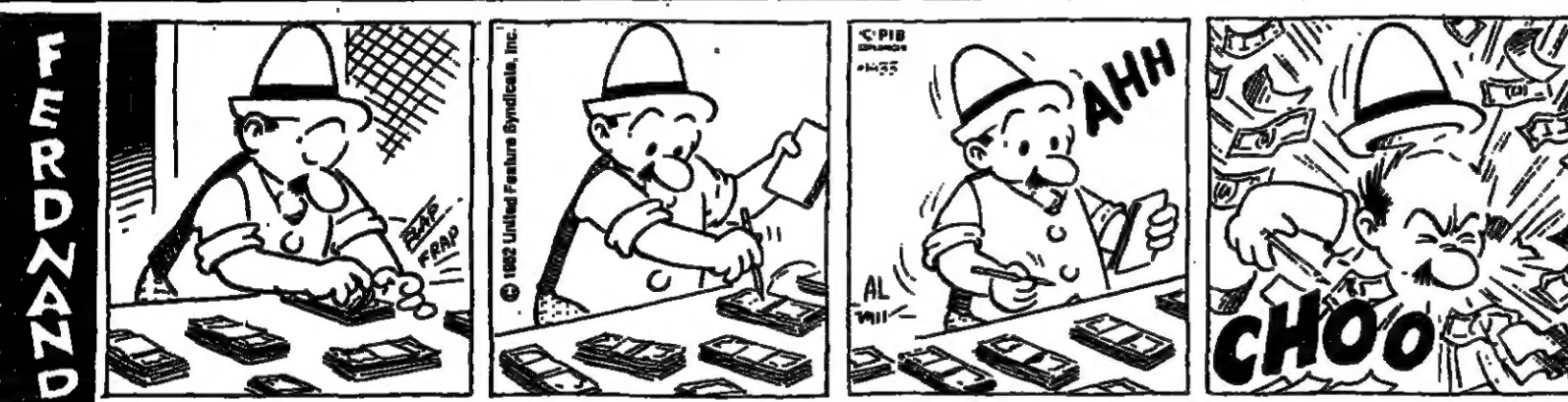
The South African Zionist Federation invites all South Africans in Israel to attend the opening ceremony of the Exhibition

The Jews of South Africa

at Beth Hatefutsoth
on
Wednesday March 9, 1983, at 7.30 p.m.
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JERUSALEM

MUSEUMS
Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Permanent Collection of Judaica, Art and Archaeology; Bezalel 1906-1929; Art of Bezalel Teachers; Portables; Lecture, "Bezalel Teachers: Primitive Art from Museum collection; How to Look at a Painting; Special Exhibits: Seder Plate, Vienna 1925 (from 15.3); Japanese Miniature Sculpture, 18th-19th cent. Netsuke and Inro; Pilgrims' Souvenir Objects and Christian Lamps; Clay Jug and Juglet, Middle Canaanite Period IIA; Kadesh Barnea, fortress from Judean Kingdom (Rockefeller Museum); Wonderful World of Paper (Palestine Centre next to Rockefeller Museum); Illuminated Haggadah, 18th cent.
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The doctors and their due

THE TALKS between the doctors and the Treasury, which had been broken off early yesterday morning after their brief revival through the intervention of the chairman of the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee, were resumed again, informally, in the afternoon. But the prospects of a breakthrough sometime soon remained dim, as the opposing parties clung to their respective initial positions.

On the surface, the Treasury's stand, as reiterated by the director-general, Ezra Sadan, was not without merit. Any deviation from the 22 per cent wage rise limit stipulated in last year's collective agreement between the Histadrut and the employers could set off an avalanche of wage claims throughout the economy, which in turn might bury any chance of curbing inflation this year. A settlement with the doctors should therefore, as a matter of principle, be kept within the agreed limit.

But the Israel Medical Association was not a party to the overall agreement. For one thing the doctors are not willing to entrust themselves to the protection of the Histadrut, which acts at the same time as a spokesman for the workers and as an employer in its own right. More importantly, the doctors feel that their case is *sui generis*, and cannot be fitted into the procrustean bed of a wage limit that would rightly apply elsewhere.

Treasury denials have not effectively undermined the impact of reports which portray the medical profession as, by and large, uniquely overworked and underpaid, and with a thoroughly distorted basic wage structure. For this distortion the IMA itself must bear at least a share of the blame. But the arrangement whereby a completely disproportionate part of the doctors' wages derives from overtime, in the form of nightshifts and standbys, is of the Treasury's own devising.

The time has plainly come to reform this system, even if this turns out to be costly. Israeli physicians cannot of course expect, any more than can Israeli pilots, the kind of remuneration they would receive in the affluent countries of the West. But they certainly deserve a decent wage, commensurate with their contribution to the public weal, which at this time they are not receiving.

To enable the doctors to obtain their due, the Histadrut would have to stop playing both sides of the street and boldly affirm its readiness to treat the doctors as a special case, unlinked to the rest of the work force. But the major burden of responsibility rests with the Treasury. Perhaps what Finance Minister Yoram Aridor means to say is that, with the national priorities being ordered as they are, the IMA's demands cannot begin to be satisfied, and the people of Israel must simply learn to realize that their medical services cannot in present circumstances be on par with the best in the world: The plight of the doctors is merely a reflection of the crisis in public medicine.

Mr. Aridor is admitting nothing of the sort, however. He has left the unpoplar chore of negotiating with the IMA to his trusted lieutenants, and has himself flown away — now to South Africa, later to the Far East. This, too, presumably, is a way of grappling with a sore problem.

Enough is enough

THERE ONCE WAS a time when the professional weather forecaster was a stock joke, like a mother-in-law: any professional humorist could be sure of a laugh by saying how he had been drenched in a storm because he had acted on a forecast that the day would be fine. These times are over. Now the Israeli meteorologists are able to tell us almost to a minute what snowstorms Jerusalem can expect in the next 48 hours, what the size of the hailstones will be in some other spot and at what speed icy winds will rage across the land.

Perhaps as a form of revenge for all those jokes, the meteorologists seem to have decided to become prophets of doom. Weekend after weekend they bring us the most appalling weather imaginable. Thursday after Thursday they declare with the utmost sang-froid that the weather is going to be ghastly, and they prove to be devastatingly correct. If they think that being right makes them popular, they are mistaken: we react to them as the Trojans must have reacted to Cassandra when she reached the point of saying smugly, "I told you so."

Our main consolation in Jerusalem is that the Municipality has become so efficient at coping with snow that the streets are clear even when blizzards are raging. In the dear, dim, distant days beyond recall, when snow afflicted the capital only once in three or four years, it would paralyze the city. Now we take it in our stride, but we no longer exclaim with delight about its beauty.

What strains the credulity is the claim that Lake Kinneret is still far from full. Somebody should examine either the measurers or their instruments: it is hard to believe that so much of the water falling in that catchment area is disappearing. Venturing ourselves into the forecasting game, we prophesy boldly that by April people living around the Lake will be submitting claims for flood compensation.

Some sentimentalists in Jerusalem still assert doggedly that the snow is beautiful, but they form a rapidly dwindling minority. We are certain that we speak for the majority of the citizens of the capital when we declare to the meteorologists and whoever else is responsible, "Enough is enough! Stop it at once!"

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Palestinian homeland and Arab evasion

By N.A. PELCOVITS

JUST ABOUT every diplomat and foreign policy expert conversant with the matter accepts as axiomatic that the way to remove the roadblock to realistic negotiation on the Palestine problem is to offer the Palestinian "homeless" a national "homeland" in the West Bank and Gaza. Some argue this won't work until Yasser Arafat, in exchange for assurance of a national home, recites the talismanic formula that he recognizes "Israel's right to exist" and accepts certain key Security Council resolutions.

Assuming this hurdle is overcome, however, a bargain is in the making: mutual recognition and a national "homeland" for the Palestinians constructed so as not to jeopardize Israel's security.

A homeland for whom? Naturally for all those who identify as Palestinians, those in the diaspora as well as the inhabitants of the occupied territories? Well, not quite.

The Reagan plan — the most promising game in town — is really concerned not with the homeless but with a role for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza in determining their future political status in the framework of an association with Jordan.

Yet, Mr. Reagan appeared to promise much more. Beirut, said the president on September 1, dramatized the homelessness of the Palestinian people, and the homeland is presumably for all of them. The "new realism," he remarked, required two matching pieces: for Israel, recognition of its unchallenged legitimacy and right to live within secure and defensible borders; for the Palestinian "homeless," a homeland associated with Jordan.

President Reagan is not alone in making the connection between taking care of the Palestinian homeless, whose plight was dramatized on TV throughout the Lebanon upheaval, and the creation of a homeland on the West Bank. The Washington Post editorialized (August 8, 1982) that "every sensible person knows the answer to the unresolved Palestine crisis: to establish a home for the people who...got no home when Israel was founded in 1948."

The sober Economist (September 25, 1982) concluded that since the refugees cannot breathe safely again in Lebanon, it is urgent to "move towards a Palestinian homeland." A now familiar refrain.

DOES THE Reagan plan really point the way to a cure for the

homelessness of the Palestinians in the camps and in the surrounding Arab lands? Hardly.

For, as the Reagan blueprint makes clear, the peacemakers' solution to the Palestine problem is really a formula for self-rule for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. If the negotiation is successful, a "homeland" is created for about 1.3 million Palestinian Arabs (1.4 million if those in East Jerusalem are added) who would participate in determining their own future.

If the Camp David scenario is then played out, during the five-year transitional autonomy period, representatives of the self-governing authority, along with those of Egypt, Jordan and Israel, will decide the "modalities" and, presumably, the numbers of persons displaced from the West Bank who could return there.

Is it reasonable to expect that more than 200,000 from outside the area could be absorbed? In effect the "homeland" would accommodate somewhat over a million and a half — the inhabitants of the area and a handful of returnees.

If the Reagan plan for a West Bank homeland materializes, we are essentially back to the pre-1967 situation; it hardly touches the problem of 1948, the homeless who remember, or were told stories by their grandparents about, Haifa and Jaffa and Beersheba (with romantic embellishments woven by PLO historians).

TAKING A CENSUS of Palestinians around the world has for years been a highly politicized numbers game; available statistics have been adulterated to suit partisan purposes. But it is not unreasonable to accept a ballpark figure of four million, splitting the difference between the CIA's 3.7 million and the 4.25 million in the PLO's June 1980 statistics.

Of these four million, approximately a million-and-a-half would be accommodated in the "homeland" (as calculated above), while better than half a million reside as citizens in Israel and presumably are not counted among the exiles. This leaves approximately two million "diaspora" Palestinians, half of whom are to be found in Jordan while the rest are scattered from Lebanon to Lima and, presumably, still yearning for a homeland.

About two-thirds of the Palestinians outside Israel and West Bank-Gaza are "refugees" in the technical sense that they are registered with the UN Relief and

Works Agency (UNRWA) to receive rations and various health, education and welfare benefits. But not all the "homeless" Palestinians are "refugees" and not all the "refugees" live outside the West Bank and Gaza.

The character and dimensions of the problem of the "homeless" are obscured by confusing and doctored statistics. UNRWA rolls are admittedly padded with tombstone and false names. What compounds the confusion is that the two different sets of numbers employed in analysis of the Palestinian problem — the UNRWA-registered refugees and the "diaspora" population (those living outside Israel and West Bank-Gaza) — fortuitously add up to the same aggregate (close to two million); but they count two different, though overlapping, populations.

Thus, about 40 per cent of the 1.9 million registered refugees are to be found in the West Bank and Gaza, most of them outside camps so they obviously are not "homeless."

Moreover, while some 700,000 refugees (35 per cent of those registered) live in 60 camps served by UNRWA, not even all those in the camps can be considered Palestinian homeless.

The most populous "camps" — Sabra and Shatila being recent painful examples — are in many respects no different from the suburban slums and squatter settlements on the outskirts of the world's large cities, from Bombay to Rio, from Dhaka to Lagos, and house a population of *les misérables*, by no means confined to Palestinians.

STILL, when President Reagan and the Arab world talk about the predicament of the Palestinian "homeless," they are presumably referring not only to the UNRWA-registered refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria — though these may be foremost on their minds — but to all the "displaced" Palestinians living outside the geographic boundaries of Israel, the West Bank and Gaza.

Whether registered refugees or not, in political discourse this group is defined as homeless in the sense that their civic, social and economic circumstances are considered temporary or transitional to later normalization elsewhere. The raw truth — only hinted at in official declarations and op-ed analyses — is that a Palestinian entity on the West Bank (whether Mr. Reagan's design or that of the European Community) will not solve the perceived "homelessness" of this group, whose nostalgia in any case is not for Jenin but for Jaffa.

Dry Bones



Whatever the Reagan plan does to bring peace between Israel and the West Bankers and Jordan (not to be minimized), it will not end their perceived homelessness or help assimilate them into the civic and economic life of the countries in which they reside.

If anything it will aggravate the problem of assimilation by promising a "homeland" they will never call their own.

Ironically, should the West Bank homeland materialize, it may take care of those not now physically homeless and do nothing for those who are displaced except to give them a vicarious sense of ethnic belonging while they await the "return."

No significant movement on the problem of the homeless is conceivable without a radical shift in Arab attitudes. For the dirty little, not-so-secret that has haunted the Palestine issue for more than 30 years is the resistance of Arab states to any suggestion that they accept responsibility for absorbing or resettling their displaced kinsmen on the fanciful ground that in the fullness of time they will be "repatriated."

The political phenomenon that dare not speak its name is that the Arab world regards the Palestinians as an indigestible population, a clear and ever present danger to their sovereignty and security.

Any Arab nation that played host to the Palestinians opened itself to trouble and put its stability at risk; it could mollify its own population by portraying the Palestinians as transient emigrants waiting for the train to leave for Haifa and Ramle.

The Arab states thus have a vested interest in keeping the dispersed Palestinians as gypsies, no

matter the human cost. When goals clash — as Lebanon made clear — the Arab states give higher priority to their perceived national interests than to the true needs of the Palestinians in their midst.

For years, rulers of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq and (at one time) Egypt have not dared dissent from the PLO line about "national liberation" and the "right of return." If taken seriously, this would mean destroying Israel by flooding it with returning Arabs.

The political make-believe of "return" — the Palestinian equivalent of the messianic redemption — has provided camouflage for the Arab host states, absolving them of responsibility for assimilating the wanderers or finding permanent homes for them elsewhere in the Arab world.

Taken seriously, it would mean that the Arab states can never accept a mini-state on the West Bank as a sufficient "solution" to the Palestine problem. On the other hand, if the interest shown in the Reagan plan by Arab moderates is meant in earnest, then a decisive shift in Arab policy on the future of the refugees is imperative.

It is disingenuous to pretend that a negotiation on the Palestine problem can be deemed sensible or serious short of an Arab consensus to address with specificity the future of the bulk of the refugees, those who won't be accommodated in the "homeland."

The next time administration officials meet with Arab leaders, realism dictates that the refugee problem be discussed in parallel or in tandem with the unresolved political problem. Without this dimension, the September initiative can hardly be "a complete proposal leading to solution of all the problems in the Middle East" as the president described it in an interview with *The Washington Post* in mid-December.

Arab states must take the lead in shaping a political consensus on the specifics and timetable.

This is the first of two articles. The writer is a former U.S. State Department official who is now at the Truman Institute.

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Panel: Vardina Erez, television director
Shuli Eshel, documentary film maker
Sarah Honig, political reporter, The Jerusalem Post
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Nurit Kahane, journalist (Ha'aretz, Koteret Roshit)
An open discussion will follow.
- 7.00 p.m. Supper
- 8.00 p.m. THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN THE MEDIA
The session will open with a slide show by Dr. Judith Reisman Bat-Ada, director, Institute for the Study of Media and the Family.
Moderator: Shulamit Aloni MK
Panel: Dr. Dina Golan, communications expert, Tel Aviv University
Dr. Gerald Kromer, criminologist, Bar-Ilan University, The Hebrew University
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